





*Carnegie Institute of Technology*



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*Edward Duff Balken*







LETTERS OF  
JOHN PAUL JONES













PAUL JONES

# LETTERS OF JOHN PAUL JONES

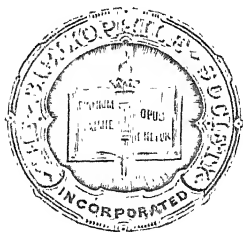
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WITH

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY  
GENERAL HORACE PORTER

AND

FRANKLIN B. SANBORN



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IT is due to the generosity of Mr. W. K. Bixby that The Bibliophile Society is permitted to issue for its members this little volume of letters written by John Paul Jones while in our country's service during the American Revolution. The original letters, which are now almost priceless relics of that period, form a part of Mr. Bixby's private collection.

The entire cost of issuing this volume (one copy of which is printed for each member) has been paid from the surplus fund in the Society's treasury remaining over from last year. There is, therefore, no charge for the work.

The grateful acknowledgments of the Council are due to General Porter and Mr. Sanborn for their introductory remarks, which are free-will contributions.





THE FOLLOWING NOTE WAS WRITTEN BY  
GENERAL HORACE PORTER, FORMERLY  
AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE,  
ESPECIALLY FOR THIS VOLUME OF LET-  
TERS OF JOHN PAUL JONES

JOHN PAUL JONES's life was an open book. It contained no sealed chapters. If the historical facts related of him were entirely destroyed, nearly all the events of his extraordinary career would be found recorded in his letters, diaries, and memoranda. He was one of the most prolific writers of the Revolutionary period, rivaling even Washington himself in that respect. When we reflect that in that age one could not command the services of stenographers and typewriters, we realize the prodigious labor involved in such a voluminous mass of correspondence. In the case of Paul Jones, he did not confine his writings to his native language, but employed also those of other

countries. He possessed in a high degree the gift of acquiring foreign tongues. He spoke French and Spanish, and while there is no authentic proof as to how well he wrote the latter, we know that much of his correspondence was conducted in very good French. While he wrote that language in a somewhat labored manner and made at times one or two drafts, with corrections, of an important communication before he prepared the final copy, he expressed his thoughts correctly and felt quite sure of himself in writing as well as in speaking that tongue.

His style was elaborate and the sentences were carefully rounded, which gave his written documents the appearance of having been well studied. This, however, was characteristic of most public men at that time, and in the case of Paul Jones it was probably emphasized by the fact that his style was influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by the genius of the French language, which often requires elaborated sentences and paraphrases to express an idea with proper dignity and elegance.

The publication at this time of this volume of letters (two of which are given in facsimile) cannot fail to be of absorbing interest, as they present, in a graphic and peculiarly attractive form, communications of rare historic value, and at the same time exhibit those distinctive traits of the man, to which the handwriting is often the clearest attestation.

HORACE PORTER



THE extraordinary career of John Paul Jones has been the occasion of so many biographies, the theme of so many novels, from Fenimore Cooper and Allan Cunningham to Winston Churchill and Miss Jewett, that his name is now better known than that of any other American naval hero. Not so well known, probably, is his untiring industry as a letter-writer, and his proclivity to quarrels; though these traits are sometimes dwelt on to his disparagement by his biographers. It would be easy to explain his quarreling by the reason General Jackson is said to have given, when testifying in favor of a Tennessee friend on trial for manslaughter, and upon whom the prosecution wished to fasten the imputation of being quarrelsome: "My friend Patten Anderson, sir," cried the old hero, fixing his severe gaze on the attorney, "was the natural enemy of all scoundrels, ever since I knew him." Doubt-

less Jones had to encounter many a scoundrel in his active and stormy voyage of life; but he was also prone to ascribe knavery and small meannesses to worthy gentlemen with whom he had a difference of opinion,—as in his clashes with Captain Saltonstall and his friend, John Adams, or with Colonel John Langdon. It was the impetuosity, sensitiveness, and magnanimity of Jones which took offence so easily, and were wont to be so easily appeased, in the three or four quarrels to which these letters, now for the first time printed, casually allude. These are of three successive year-dates,—1776, 1779, and 1782–83; and they all relate to periods of his service in our Revolution, and to his disappointments therein.

The two short letters of June 20, 1776, to Colonel Tillinghast, a Rhode Island naval agent, relate to a cruise in the war sloop *Providence*, of which Jones was made captain, May 10. On June 13 he was ordered by the naval commander-in-chief, Esek Hopkins, to convoy Lieutenant Hoysted Hacker in the *Fly* into Long Island Sound from Newport for New York, and then to convoy

other vessels from Stonington to Newport, after which he was to go to Boston. The first letter shows him just sailing thither, and indulging some spleen against Captain Saltonstall, the "master of the *Alfred*," and the "ill-natured and narrow-minded" favorite of John Adams. The "Admiral" was Hopkins himself.

The muster-roll of the *Providence*, from a copy long preserved in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, gives a particular value to this part of the correspondence.

The short paper in French, with endorsement by Jones, relates to the uneasiness of the Dutch vice-admiral at the Texel in Holland, where Jones in the *Serapis* had been refitting since October 3, 1779, from the injuries inflicted in the famous sea-fight of September 23. He had been closely questioned, November 4, by this officer, about his French commission. "I told him," wrote Jones on that date, "that my French commission not having been found among my papers since the loss of the *Poor Richard*, I feared it had gone to the bottom in that ship."

On December 13 he sent Franklin at Paris his angry reply to the French ambassador at the Hague, refusing a French privateer's commission, which was, no doubt, the "*acte qui lui a été adressé*" mentioned as "a falsehood" by Jones, who, at the date of his endorsement, was on board the French ship *Alliance*. This brief script opens up a long controversy, in which scanty justice was finally done to Jones by the French and the American naval departments.

How the British admiralty regarded Jones as its most formidable foe will best be seen by the letter of Lord Sandwich to one of the British captains, the original of which is now among the MSS. of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His Lordship, satirized in his day by the poet Gray and others as "Jemmy Twitcher," wrote thus:

*To Captain Francis Reynolds, (Lord Ducie):*

ADMIRALTY NOV. 23<sup>d</sup> 1779

. . . For God's sake get to sea instantly, in consequence of the orders you have received; if you can take Paul Jones you will be as high in the estimation of the publick as if you had beat the combined fleets; the whole of the business depends on despatch.



Therefore not a moment is to be lost on any consideration. I flatter myself that after what I have said I need only add that I am

your very sincere friend & faithfull servant

SANDWICH.

This Earl was then First Lord of the Admiralty of England; he was a descendant of that more martial earl of Charles Second's time, celebrated by Pepys in his Diary.

Admiral Belknap, of the American navy, in a paper read at Concord, N. H., in March, 1899, quoted from a song familiar to London streets in 1780, which linked the name of Sandwich with that of Jones very sarcastically, thus:

Of heroes and statesmen I 'll just mention four  
That cannot be matched if we trace the world o'er;  
For none of such fame ever stept o'er the stones  
As Germain, Jemmy Twitcher, Lord North and Paul  
Jones.

If success to our fleets be not quickly restored,  
The leaders in office we 'll shove from the board;  
May they all fare alike,—and the Dev'l pick the bones  
Of Germain, Jemmy Twitcher, Lord North and Paul  
Jones!

The next ten letters relate to the building, launching, and giving up to the French nation of the new ship *America*, which Jones was to have commanded, with the entire good will of his former opponent, John Adams, who wrote to him from the Hague, August 12, 1782, that "the command of the *America* could not have been more judiciously bestowed," and that he wished he "could see a prospect of having half-a-dozen line-of-battle ships under the American flag, commanded by Commodore Paul Jones, engaged with an equal British force." This was never to happen; for before Adams's letter could reach Portsmouth, Congress (September 3, 1782) had voted to give the new ship to France, to replace the *Magnifique*, lost in Boston Harbor. On June 26, 1781, Congress had appointed Jones to command the unfinished ship, and in August following he went to Portsmouth to coöperate with Colonel Langdon in finishing her. On the way he delivered the following letter of introduction from General John Sullivan, then a Congressman from New Hampshire, to President Weare in his farm-

house at Hampton Falls, and dined with the good old patriot there:

PHILADELPHIA, July 3, 1781.

*Dear Sir,*— I take the liberty of introducing to your particular notice the Chevalier John Paul Jones, Esquire, sent to Portsmouth by Congress to take command of the *America*. Every mark of civility which you may think proper to show to this gentleman will be considered as conferred on,

Sir, your Most Obedient Servant,

JNO. SULLIVAN.

Sullivan's own home was at Durham, on one of the branches of the Piscataqua, some dozen miles above where the *America* had been begun, four years before, on Langdon's Island in that river, and his friend Colonel Langdon had general charge of its construction. Jones found Colonel Langdon and his brother, Judge Woodbury Langdon, both at Portsmouth, and in these letters mention is made of both families. At this time, however, John Langdon was not Governor of the State, as might be inferred from a quotation from Jones's lieutenant, Hall, made by Buell in his *Life of Jones*. The title of "Governor" was then unknown to the Constitu-

tion of New Hampshire, and its chief magistrate was called "President" until 1793. Langdon was President in 1785 and 1788, Governor from 1805 to 1809, and again in 1810 and 1811.

On the following September 25, 1781, Robert Morris, head of the Marine Bureau at Philadelphia, wrote to Jones at Portsmouth by John Brown, then on his way to Boston, "to fix on a Deputy Agent for Naval Affairs," in which capacity Brown himself had served. Morris was then "pleased to learn that the work on the *America* is progressing so well," and hoped that Brown would succeed in furnishing such funds as might be needed, etc. Brown seems to have remained for a time at Boston, and through him Jones attempted to arrange some "affair of the heart," of which mention is once or twice made. This may have relation to "the all-accomplished Delia" in France, to whom Jones had written December 25, 1781, from Portsmouth, telling her that since he wrote her from Philadelphia he had been put in command of the *America*, and asking her to write him "un-

der cover to the Honorable Robert Morris, Esq., Minister of Finance." He professed unabated affection, and complained of the infrequency of her letters. In September, 1782, he writes Brown, "There is one delicate subject of a private nature on which you remain silent, though, as I wrote you to Boston, I expected to hear much from you on that head. Your silence, I fear, carries with it a disagreeable meaning." To this hint Brown, writing from Philadelphia, October 1, 1782, advises Jones to think no more of the delicate subject mentioned in his last; and, in reply to Jones's "respects to my fair friends," adds, "I send my respects to all friends in Portsmouth, particularly the *aimable* Mrs. Langdon." This was perhaps Mrs. Woodbury Langdon, rather than the wife of John Langdon, with whom Jones's relations while in Portsmouth were civil, but not warm. Jones left Portsmouth early in the following November, and a year later (November 10, 1783) was on board ship sailing from Philadelphia to France, and thence wrote the last letter in this interesting collection. He was in Europe nearly

four years, returned to America for a few months in 1787, but died in Paris in July, 1792, a little past the age of forty-five.

While in America in 1787, Jones wrote to Thomas Jefferson, then our ambassador at Paris (September 4, 1787), forwarding through him a letter to Aimée de Telison, and requesting Jefferson to interest himself in her favor. He had met her often during his residence in France from December, 1783, onward, and his purse was at her disposal. One of his last acts before making his will (July 18, 1792) was to give her a house in Paris and settle upon her an annuity. It has been said that they were privately married; of that there is no evidence. She long survived his death, which occurred in Paris the very day his will was signed. Little is known of her after life.

F. B. SANBORN

CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS, July, 1905.

Sloop *Providence*,

20th June, 1776.

*Sir*: I have made so many unsuccessful attempts to convoy the *Fly* past Fisher's Island that I have determined to give it up and pursue my orders for Boston. When I arrive there I will transmit you my letter of attorney. In the meantime you will singularly oblige me by applying to the Admiral for an order to receive for me a copy of the *Alfred's* log-book, which I had made out for my private use before I left that ship, and which was unjustly withheld from me when I took command of the sloop, by the ill-natured and narrow-minded Captain Saltonstall. When the old gentleman was down here he promised to order that my copy should be delivered; but when my lieutenant applied for it, the master of the *Alfred* told the Admiral a cursed lye, and said there was no copy made out. On enquiry you will find that Mr. Vaughan, the

mate of the *Alfred*, made out the copy in question for me before I went to New York. I should not be so particular did I not stand in absolute need of it before I can make out a fair copy of my Journal to lay before the Congress; for I was so stinted in point of time in the *Alfred* that I did not copy a single remark; besides 't is a little hard that I who planned and superintended the log-book should not be thought worthy of a copy when a midshipman if he pleases may claim one. I take it for granted that you will receive the book. I must therefore beg you to send it if possible to me at Mr. Jno. Head's or Captain J. Bradford's, Boston; regard not the expense. I will cheerfully pay it. I am, with esteem,

Sir, your obliged and very humble servant.

Sloop *Providence*,

20th June, 1776.

*Sir*: I forgot to mention to you that your account against the *Providence* will be necessary to me at Boston, as I mean to transmit the state and condition of the sloop from thence to the Congress. I will also be glad



of Admiral Hopkins's account against me or the sloop; and you will please to include in your account the articles furnished to the vessel by the Commissary at Newport. There is a bolt of canvas belonging to the sloop in the upper part of the store. I wish it could be sent to Boston together with a quantity of knives,—four to five dozen; a pair of small pistols; some twine, needles, palms, fishhooks, lines, &c., which Mr. Brownell took away from the sloop and hath in his possession. It seems he lodges at a Thos. Nenner's on the hill opposite the burying-ground on the west side. You will herewith receive a pair of pistols, a musket, and a cutlas belonging to the *Alfred*, which please to deliver.

I am, Sir, your obliged very humble servant,

(Signed) J. P. J.

COLONEL D. TILLINGHAST.

M. le Commodore Paul Jones annoncera à M. le Vice-amiral R——, que quoiqu'en qualité d'Américain il n'ait fait usage que de la commission des États Unis, il n'en

étoit pas moins vrai qu'il en avoit une française qui a été perdue lors du désastre du *Bonhomme Richard*, et dont l'acte qui lui a été adressé est la copie. M. le Commodore Paul Jones fera même cette déclaration par écrit, et la signera, si par hazard M. le Vice-amiral venoit à l'exiger.<sup>1</sup>

#### TRANSLATION OF THE PRECEDING

Commodore Paul Jones will announce to Vice-admiral R—— that, although as an American citizen, he has used only his commission from the United States, it was not the less true that he had a French one which was lost when the disaster happened to the *Bonhomme Richard*, of which commission the document addressed to him [the Vice-admiral] is a copy. Commodore Paul Jones will make this declaration in writing, and will sign it, if at any time the Vice-admiral should so require.

N.B. The above is the proposition that was given me in writing the 13th of December, 1779, on board the *Alliance* at the Texel

<sup>1</sup> This is not in the handwriting of John Paul Jones.

by M. le Chevalier de Lioncourt to induce me to say and sign a falsehood.<sup>1</sup>

J. PAUL JONES

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE,  
January 3d, 1782.

I have, my dear Brown, duly received your letter of the 26th, and am much obliged by the letters you forwarded. I regret exceedingly my not having seen the Marquis before he sailed; and it is a great addition to my disappointment, my having lost that good opportunity to write to my friends, who are full of zeal for my glory and the interests of America. Your long delay at Boston, and some new circumstances that have occurred here, have obliged me to write by the last post a clear account of matters to the Minister. By Mr. Langdon, purser of the *Dean*, I understand you mean to remain at Boston till you have dispatched that ship? I shall console myself if you do; because you will then be able to make a longer stay here, and in the meantime I am persuaded an effectual arrangement will be made.

<sup>1</sup> This "N.B." is written in the autograph of John Paul Jones.

I am, with great regard, dear Sir,  
Your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

N.B. I gave Captain Thompson a packet (under cover to Mr. Morris) for my particular friend at Court. I desired him to take off the cover if he found the Marquis at Boston. It is of great consequence to myself and the Continent. I pray you therefore to send it on to Mr. Morris unless you find an opportunity you approve from Boston, &c.

JOHN BROWN, Esquire,  
Secretary of Admiralty, Boston.

Honored by Mr. Langdon, Purser of the  
*Dean*.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE,  
January 21st, 1782.

*Dear Sir:* Colonel Langdon, who I understand goes for Boston to-morrow, in order to settle his *old accounts* with the Navy Board, does me the honor to carry this letter. I apprehend you have suffered my late letters to remain in the post-office, as I have

not had the pleasure to hear from you since the 26th of December. If you have received a packet of letters I gave Captain Thompson, I do not wish it to be sent by the *Alexander*, there being copys already on board that ship. If you have not received it, I wish you would mention this with my compliments to Captain Thompson.

I am, dear Sir, most affectionately your  
(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

N.B. Remember you are to lodge with me when you come here. I wish to know when the *Alexander* is expected to sail.

JOHN BROWN, Esquire,  
Secretary of Admiralty, Boston.

Honored by Colonel Langdon.

PORTSMOUTH, N. HAMPSHIRE,  
March 25, 1782.

I hope, my dear Brown, you got safe and speedily to Boston after our separation. I reached Portsmouth just when they began to light candles after tea, and the dancing did not end till after two in the morning. I have attended the *America* every day; the

work, so far, goes on as well as can be expected with the few hands that are employed. Colonel L. returned last night; I have seen him then, and this morning: he appeared civil, but did not talk of business. I shall endeavor to induce him to increase the number of workmen. I have examined the cable I mentioned to you that belonged to the *Somerset*. It is somewhat worn, and measures only 20 instead of 22 inches; however, if we can obtain 3 more of 18 inches or upwards they might answer for the first object. I have thought of the boats; and, that no expense may be incurred that can possibly be avoided, I am willing, in the first moment, to forego the parade of a barge, and will content myself, even in sight of the flag of France, to be rowed in an eight-oared pinnace. It seems probable the *Cybel* had a good launch, which might serve as a long-boat for the *America*. I wish you could send me the dimensions if the boat is good. I have seen Colonel Hill (the other master builder), who says the timber is all ready at the head of the river, so that we shall begin to lay the quarter-deck and fore-castle

beams, I expect, the week after next. There is timber enough got, he says, for the gun-carriages; and, as we shall have our own iron, the workmanship cannot be a heavy expense. I wish the 10 eighteen-pounders could be got back from Virginia, to make a compleat battery with the 18 at Boston. I hope you will secure the cannon and swivles of the *Cybel*. The cannon, I suppose, are twelve-pounders, and will suit our quarter-deck and forecastle; the swivles will answer for the tops, quarters, &c. If the eighteen-pounders cannot be got back from Virginia, the *Cybel's* twelve-pounders may be substituted, unless heavier cannon can be had to compleat the upper battery. Mr. Ross writes me the 5th that Captain Hodge had only just sailed for the Havannah. You will therefore be at Philadelphia before he returns, and be able to give the Minister full information, as well as to determine on my proposal for your return. You know how deeply my honor is concerned in the accomplishment of the important business with which I am charged, and how much I cast myself on your care, and rely on your

friendly representations and vigorous exertions. I know you will not, in anything, fall short of my expectations.

I say nothing to you at present of my affair of the heart; but wait impatiently to hear *much* on that subject from you. I shall rely on your advice; and, as I know it will come from the heart of friendship, I shall make no scruple beforehand to promise you to treat it with great respect and *attention*. I am, believe me, my dear Brown,

Your affectionate

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

N.B. Your servant did honor to your trust, and paid as you directed.

JOHN BROWN, Esquire,  
Secretary of Admiralty, Boston.

PORTSMOUTH, N. HAMPSHIRE,

April 2d, 1782.

I wrote you, my dear Brown, by Sherburne, the Smith, the 29th ult. I then forgot to mention to send here immediately all the paint and oil on hand at Boston; the new work is planed off, and being of green wood,



is suffering much for want of it. Major Hacket is gone up the river with half his men to hasten down the timber for the quarter-deck and forecastle, and I expect to begin to lay the beams the first of next week. I wish you would immediately send me, if you have them, from 12 to 20 or more good swivles — and, at any rate, send some powder, grape-shot, and musket balls. I want to mount swivles in the gunports, &c., and I wish you would mention some marines for a guard. Pray how many, and what sort of pumps has the *Cybell*?

I am, my dear Brown, your affectionate

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

PORTSMOUTH, N. HAMPSHIRE,

April 4th, 1782.

You will oblige me, my dear Brown, if you can send me by the return of Mr. Seaman, the bearer, a piece of good linen for shirts, and a piece of cambric for stock. I have muslin for ruffles, but thread and buttons are wanting. I have received a credit from my friend Ross on Mr. Russell, who will reimburse you the cost. I should not

have given you this trouble, but that I find no linen here except such as is both bad and very dear, and I know you will excuse without an apology your affectionate

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

JOHN BROWN, Esquire,  
Secretary of Admiralty, Boston.

Honored by Richard Seaman, Esquire.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE,  
April 15th, 1782.

I wrote you, my dear Brown, by the last post, mentioning Colonel Langdon's intention to discharge all the carpenters last Saturday; and I expected to have had an answer from you, as I stood in need of your advice. I am disappointed. I had determined to try all my art of persuasion on Colonel Langdon, and to call in the auxiliary aid of General Whipple and others to induce him to continue. If he had obstinately persisted in discharging the carpenters, I was resolved to have continued them at my own expense till I had heard from the Minister; being persuaded that to stop now would be

to lose the *America*. Perhaps all my arguments would have failed, had he not by the Friday's post received a remittance of ten thousand dollars. Even that remittance has not operated to augment the number of carpenters, nor even to set a single caulker to work. All it has effected is to continue the few men employed when you were here; and part of that number are and have been for some time past taken off to fit out his private vessels. They are to receive no pay till a month is expired. I am greatly obliged by the linen and cambric you so kindly sent me by Mr. Seaman. Pray did Mr. Russell pay for the cambric? I have recommended to the Minister to procure not only the hull, stores, and materials of the *Fantasque*; but also what belongs to the *Cybell*. It seems to me they may be turned to a very good account. He will communicate to you the plan I have suggested. I am, my dear Brown,  
your affectionate

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

N.B. Major Hacket and the rest beg that what I proposed to them in your hear-

ing may not be mentioned to any person here.

JOHN BROWN, Esquire,  
Secretary of Admiralty.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE,  
April 15th, 1782.

I wrote you a line, my dear Brown, this morning by Mr. Sheaf. The present, I expect, will yet find you in Boston. I send it by the postman, and the intention of it is only to transmit you the enclosed seven hundred and twenty dollars, in bills on France for interest from the Boston Loan Office. I pray you on your arrival in Philadelphia to put these bills into the hands of my friend and attorney John Ross, Esquire. If you paid for the cambric you so obligingly sent me, he will reimburse you the cost. I have mentioned to Mr. Ross what you so kindly promised respecting the embarkation of my stores and baggage, and must rely on you and him for that arrangement. Your endeavours to obtain payment of my steward's wages due from the 16th March, 1780, will

oblige me. He has been so long with me  
that I find I cannot well do without him.  
I shall hope to hear from you before you  
depart; meantime and always I am,  
affectionately yours,

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

JOHN BROWN, Esquire,  
Secretary of Admiralty, Boston.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE,  
April 25th, 1782.

I wrote you, my dear Brown, the 21st by  
the postman. Since that time I have by a  
fine political manœuvre discovered, as I  
think, the clew to the letter I received from  
Philadelphia of the 26th ult. mentioning a  
“Respectable Gentleman.” I now see also  
the reason why “Resigning” and “getting  
clear of the business” is so much talked of.  
The scheme has been deeply laid, and if  
the successor that has been recommended  
should be accepted, I think the coffers would  
be drained, and a double fence to knavery  
would be erected. Mr. Langdon has not re-  
solved to set out for Boston before the be-

ginning of next week; so I send this by Mr. Greenleaf of the stage-coach, who, after remaining a day or so in Boston, will bring me your answer. I have much serious matter to say to you, and think it absolutely necessary I should see you as soon as possible. Therefore I would propose to meet you at Ipswich on as early a day as you can appoint; you can return the day following to Boston, and none be the wiser but ourselves. Mr. Langdon never behaved with greater civility to me than at present; and as I hate to be outdone I am very polite towards him. I am always, my dear Brown, your affectionate

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

JOHN BROWN, Esquire,  
Secretary of Admiralty, Boston.

PORTSMOUTH, N. HAMPSHIRE,  
August 3d, 1782.

The bearer, my dear Brown, being sent by Colonel Langdon express to Philadelphia, to return immediately, gives me an opportunity to refer you to him for some

particulars of our present situation, which his hasty departure puts out of my power to write. You will, I suppose, see my official account of this date to the Minister. I have not received a word from you since you left Boston. I shall not now urge you to write, even by this opportunity: on the contrary, I shall freely give you back all your promises and professions, if you repent having made them; because I would have them continue with steadfast sincerity if they are continued at all. I presume you received the confidential letter I wrote you to Philadelphia in answer to your last from Boston. In the meantime I am, my dear Brown, your unaltered friend,

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

Past 2 o'clock in the morning of the 4th.

JOHN BROWN, Esquire, &c.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE,  
Sept. 7th, 1782.

At last, my dear Brown, I am so happy as to receive your letter of the 14th ult. No doubt you had strong reasons for your past

silence; but circumstanced as I have been, in such tormenting suspense, I have paid dearly for your delicacy. I thought you unkind, and am now much pleased to relinquish that apprehension: you will no more allow me foundation for it. The loss of the *Magnifique* at Boston, which was immediately communicated to Mr. Morris, will, I have no doubt, remove the chief difficulty mentioned in your letter. The armament of that ship, I am certain, can be spared, and perhaps also the rigging and sails; you will therefore follow up that object if you regard my happiness. I am much obliged by what you say respecting my steward's pay.

I wish most ardently for an honorable peace; which cannot, in my judgment, be made otherwise than in conjunction with our generous ally. I would disdain to take repose and leave our friends to fight out our battles! If this is the wily scheme of the English *Fox*, I hope every virtuous American will treat it with the most supreme contempt, and never consent to sheathe the sword till, in mercy to mankind, that insolent and faithless nation is humbled in the dust. There is one delicate subject *of a pri-*



Portsmouth, New Hampshire Sept: 7<sup>th</sup> 1792

At last my dear Brown I am so happy as to receive your letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> Ult. No doubt you had strong Reasons for your past silence; but circumstances as I have been, in such tormenting ~~conscience~~ <sup>conscience</sup>, I have paid dearly for your delay. I thought you unkind, and am now much pleased to relinquish that apprehension: you will no more allow me foundation for it. — The loss of the Magnifique at Boston, which was immediately communicated to Mr. Morris, will I have no doubt remove the chief difficulty mentioned in your letter. The Armament of that ship, I am certain, can be spared, and perhaps also the Rigging and Sails: you will therefore follow up that Object if you regard my happiness. — I am much obliged by what you say respecting my Stewards Pay. —

Yours truly  
J<sup>n</sup> Brown Esq<sup>r</sup> &c

I wish most ardently for an honorable Peace, which  
cannot in my judgement be made otherwise  
than in conjunction with our generous Ally.  
I would disdain to take repose and leave  
our Friends to fight out our Battles! - If this  
is the wily scheme of the English Eng, I hope  
every virtuous American will treat it with  
the most supreme contempt, and never  
consent to sheath the sword till, in mercy  
to Mankind, that insolent and faithless Nation  
is humbled in the Dust. - There is one delicate  
subject of a private nature on which you  
remain silent & though, as I wrote you to, Boston  
expected to hear much from you on that head,  
your silence I fear carries with it a disagreeable  
meaning. - present if you please my respects to  
my fair Friends, as I have done yours here. Let me  
hear from you. You cannot suppose I am happy  
in my situation; but I am with unabating affection  
Your friend *Wm Lloyd Garrison*

*vate nature* on which you remain silent, though, as I wrote you to Boston, I expected "to hear much from you on that head." Your silence, I fear, carries with it a disagreeable meaning. Present, if you please, my respects to my fair friends, as I have done yours here. Let me hear from you. You cannot suppose I am "happy" in my situation; but I am, with unabating affection,

Your friend,

J. PAUL JONES

JOHN BROWN, Esquire, &c.

PHILADELPHIA, June 4th, 1783.

*Gentlemen:* The bearer, John Barry, Esquire, Captain in the Continental Navy, commanding the frigate *Alliance*, being destined for the Texel, I beg leave to introduce him as a friend of mine to the honor of your acquaintance. As Captain Barry is an entire stranger in Holland, any civilities you may show him will the more oblige,

Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

MESSIEURS DENEUFVILLE & FILS,

à Amsterdam.

On Board the *Washington* Packet,

DELAWARE BAY, November 10th, 1783.

*Dear General:* After I had the honor to see you last at Philadelphia, I had occasion to go to Princeton. General Washington did me the honor to read the papers I showed to you, and his Excellency told me in returning them "he must confess he could not see upon what principle of justice Congress had acted respecting my rank." I have, however, said nothing to that great body on the subject. The object for which I am now here on my way to France is to solicit justice to the officers and men I had the honor to command in Europe. When I have obtained proper satisfaction for them I intend to return to America. The Chevalier de la Luzerne and Baron Steuben have proposed to obtain a vote of the Society of Cincinnatus for my admission at the first general meeting. If I am elected a permanent member of the Society, my friend and attorney John Ross, Esquire, will pay seventy-five dollars, the monthly pay of a colonel, which rank I have by virtue of my election to command the *America*. I shall place great dependence

On board the Washington Packet  
Delaware Bay Nov: 10<sup>th</sup> 1789

Dear General

After I had the honor to see you last at Philadelphia  
I had occasion to go to Princeton. Genl. Washington  
did me the honor to read the papers I showed to  
you, and his Excellency told me on returning that  
that "he must confess he could not see upon  
what principle of Justice Congress had acted —  
respecting my Rank" — I have however said  
nothing to that great Body on the subject.  
The Object for which I am now here on my way  
to France is to solicit Justice to the Officers  
and Men I had the honor to Command in Europe  
When I have obtained proper Satisfaction for them  
I intend to return to America. — The Chevalier  
De la Luzerne and Baron Stuber have proposed  
to obtain a Vote of the Society of Cincinnati;  
my admission at the first general meeting. —  
Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major General A. S. Blair Esquire &c

I am elected a permanent Member of the Society, my  
friends and Attorney Johnson Esq. will <sup>pay</sup> (Twenty five  
Dollars) the Monthly Pay of a Colonel, which I  
have by Virtue of my election to command the  
America. I shall place great dependence for  
my admission on your interposition, and I  
beg you to believe the Assurance of the great  
Respect and Esteem with which I have the honor  
to be Dear General

Your most obedient  
and most humble servant  
B. W. H. H.

for my admission on your interposition, and  
I beg you to believe the assurance of the  
great respect and esteem with which I have  
the honor to be, dear General,

Your most obedient and most humble ser-  
vant,

(Signed) J. PAUL JONES

The Honorable Major-general

A. ST. CLAIR.

The following is the muster-roll of the sloop *Providence*, which does not appear to have been printed before. Long ago it was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by John Lowell, Esq. (H. U. 1786), one of the founders of the society, and it has ever since remained in the archives of that institution. Its value consists mainly in showing authentically who served on board the first naval vessel of the United States which Jones commanded; when each officer and man entered the service, and what was his original rank. Some of them were afterwards with Jones in his Portsmouth-built ship, the *Ranger*,—which, while in the French harbor of Quiberon in 1778, received the first National salute given the American Flag in Europe,—and a few may have been with him on board the *Bonhomme Richard* when she captured the *Serapis*.



In his report to the Continental Congress, of which mention is made in one of the letters here printed, Jones may have included this muster-roll; but we can find no evidence that it was ever printed.

# MUSTER-ROLL OF THE

No	Time of Entry		Names in original	Station	Run, Dead, Discharged
	Month	Year			
1	May 10	1776	John Paul Jones . . .	Captain	
2	April 16	1776	William Grinnell . . .	1st Lieut.	
3	Feb. 10	1776	John P. Rathbun . . .	1st Lieut.	
4	June 3	1776	William Hopkins . . .	Master	
5	March 14	1776	Samuel Brownell . . .	Actg. master	
6	May 12	1776	Henry Tillinghast . . .	Surgeon	
7	June 9	1776	John Margeson . . .	1st Master's mate	
8	Jan. 20	1776	Joseph Brown . . .	2d Master's mate	
9	Jan. 1	1776	John McNeil . . .	3d Master's mate	
10	Jan. 22	1776	Joseph Hardy . . .	Midshipman	
11	May 15	1776	Charles Short . . .	Clerk . . .	Dis. June 19
12	June 18	1776	James Rogers . . .	Steward	
13	Feb. 17	1776	William Darby . . .	Boatswain	
14	June 10	1776	Andrew Brewer . . .	Carpenter . . .	Run Oct. 20, 1776
15	Feb. 1	1776	James Bryant . . .	Gunner	
16	Jan. 4	1776	John Pynter . . .	Armourer	
17	Jan. 1	1776	Isaac Kimball . . .	Disqual. cooper	Run Aug. 10, 1776
18	Jan. 8	1776	John Bettingham . . .	Cook . . .	Taken from hospital June 9
19	May 21	1776	James Pressy . . .	Boatswain's mate	
20	April 17	1776	Lillibridge Worth . . .	Gunner's mate	
21	Jan. 4	1776	Farquaher McPherson	Yeoman . . .	Run Aug. 10, 1776
22	Jan. 31	1776	Robert Brown . . .	Seaman	
23	May 21	1776	Andrew Waylin . . .	Seaman . . .	Run Oct., 1776
24	May 22	1776	Thomas Cox . . .	Seaman . . .	Sent sick quarters June 3
25	May 21	1776	Samuel Hallam . . .	Seaman	
26	May 20	1776	Samuel Chapman . . .	Seaman	
27	May 28	1776	John Dennis . . .	Seaman . . .	Taken from sick quarters May 28
28	Jan. 14	1776	Edward Donelly . . .	Seaman	
29	Jan. 4	1776	John Sutherland . . .	Seaman	
30	May 24	1776	William Bryant . . .	Seaman	
31	June 10	1776	Thomas Perfect . . .	Seaman	
[32] <sup>1</sup>	April 17	1776	William Abbot . . .	Seaman . . .	Run June 24
[33]	July 11	1776	James Robinson . . .	Seaman	
[34]	July 11	1776	Charles Traffarn . . .	Seaman	
[35]	Jan. 2	1776	George Robinson . . .	Carpenter's mate	Dis. June 18, 1776

<sup>1</sup> Numbering is here discontinued in original.

# “PROVIDENCE” SLOOP OF WAR

Turned over from		Turned over to		Time promoted	
				Month	Year
[ 1 ]	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[ 2 ]	Ship <i>Columbus</i> . . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . .		Aug. 27	1776
[ 3 ]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[ 4 ]	Sick quarters . . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . .		Sept. 5	1776
[ 5 ]	. . . . .	Sick quarters . . . . .		June 4	1776
[ 6 ]	Ship <i>Alfred</i> , May 12 . . . . .	Sick quarters . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[ 7 ]	<i>Andrew Doria</i> , May 22 . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[ 8 ]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . .		Sept. 5	1776
[ 9 ]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . .		Aug. 27	1776
[10]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Favourite</i> . . . .		Sept. 8	1776
[11]	. . . . .	. . . . .		June 19	1776
[12]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Defiance</i> . . . .		Sept. 23	1776
[13]	<i>Andrew Doria</i> . . . . .	Chester Jail . . . . .		Aug. 5	1776
[14]	. . . . .	Sick quarters . . . . .		June 20	1776
[15]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[16]					
[17]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[18]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[19]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[20]	Ship <i>Columbus</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[21]					
[22]					
[23]					
[24]					
[25]	Ship <i>Columbus</i> , June 9 . . . .	Ship <i>Columbus</i> . . . . .		June 9	1776
[26]	Ship <i>Columbus</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Columbus</i> . . . . .		June 9	1776
[27]	. . . . .	<i>Andrew Doria</i> . . . . .		June 3	1776
[28]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Favourite</i> . . . .		Sept. 8	1776
[29]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[30]					
[31]	Ship <i>Columbus</i> , June 10 . . . .	<i>Columbus's Prize</i> . . . . .		Sept. 10	1776
[32]					
[33]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[34]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[35]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		June 8	1776

No.	Time of Entry		Names in original	Station	Run, Dead, Discharged
	Month	Year			
[36]	April 16	1776	James Grinnell . . .	Boy	
[37]	April 16	1776	Cambridge Grinnell . .	Boy . . . .	Sick quarters
[38]	May 12	1776	Edward Ormond . .	Boy . . . .	Dis. Aug. 15
[39]	Jan. 11	1776	Samuel Askins . . .	Boy . . . .	Run Oct. 8, 1776
[40]	July 11	1776	James Turner . . .	Boy	
[41]	Jan. 7	1776	Andrew Jemerson . .	Boy . . . .	Run May 24, 1776
[42]	June 12	1776	Alpheus Rice . . .	Lt. Marines . .	Run Aug. 16, 1776
[43]	Dec. 29	1775	Patrick Russell . . .	Marine . . .	Run Aug. 10, 1776
[44]	Jan. 4	1776	Cornelius Dax . . .	Marine . . .	Dis. May 24
[45]	June 4	1776	Archibald Neilson . .	Marine . . .	Taken from hospital June 4
[46]	Jan. 23	1776	Samuel Allen . . .	Marine	
[47]	Jan. 4	1776	Cornelius Conelly . .	Marine . . .	Run June 3, 1776
[48]	Jan. 14	1776	Mathew McCaffry . .	Marine . . .	Sent sick quarters
[49]	Feb. 8	1776	John Robinson . . .	Marine	
[50]	Jan. 3	1776	Daniel Pillegar . . .	Marine	
[51]	Jan. 5	1776	Bryan Ryan . . . .	Marine . . .	Run Aug. 27, 1776
[52]	Jan. 5	1776	Archibald Edmunson .	Marine	
[53]	Jan. 5	1776	Patrick McMullen . .	Marine	
[54]	Jan. 5	1776	Samuel Wright . . .	Marine	
[55]	Jan. 5	1776	James Sinnex . . .	Marine	
[56]	Jan. 5	1776	David Franks . . .	Marine	
[57]	Jan. 5	1776	William Griffies . . .	Marine	
[58]	Jan. 5	1776	John McIndoe . . .	Marine	
[59]	Jan. 23	1776	William Rickets . . .	Marine . . .	Run Sept. 24, 1777
[60]	Dec. 20	1775	Frederick Wm. Ruffman	Marine	
[61]	April 16	1776	Daniel Humphreys . .	Prisoner . . .	Sick at Prov. April 9
[62]	June 14	1776	James Howell . . .	Prisoner	
[63]	June 14	1776	William Brand . . .	Prisoner . . .	Entered Oct. 4, 1776
[64]	June 14	1776	Edmund Arrowsmith .	Ensign	
[65]	June 14	1776	Elias Thomas . . .	Sergeant	
[66]	June 14	1776	William Babcock . . .	Soldier . . .	Run June 28
[67]	June 14	1776	Joseph Nocake . . .	Soldier	
[68]	June 14	1776	Adin Trask . . . .	Soldier . . .	Dis. Oct. 10
[69]	June 14	1776	Augustus Saunders .	Soldier	
[70]	June 14	1776	Richard Griffies . . .	Soldier	
[71]	June 14	1776	Elias Millar . . . .	Soldier	
[72]	June 14	1776	Thomas Potter . . .	Soldier	
[73]	June 14	1776	Jonathan Jenks . . .	Soldier	
[74]	June 14	1776	Nathan Munroe . . .	Soldier . . .	Dis. Feb. 1
[75]	June 14	1776	Joseph Jaqueys . . .	Soldier . . .	Dis. Nov. 1

Turned over from		Turned over to	Time promoted	
			Month	Year
[36]	Ship <i>Columbus</i>	Prize Brig. <i>Britannia</i>	Aug. 27	1776
[37]			Oct. 10	1776
[38]			Aug. 15	1776
[39]			Oct. 8	1776
[40]		Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[41]			May 24	1776
[42]	<i>Andrew Doria</i>		June 10	1776
[43]			Aug. 10	1776
[44]			May 24	1776
[45]		Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[46]		Ship <i>Columbus</i>	June 9	1776
[47]			June 3	1776
[48]			June 6	1776
[49]		Ship <i>Columbus</i>	June 10	1776
[50]		Ship <i>Columbus</i>	June 9	1776
[51]	Brig. <i>Cabot</i>		Jan. 5	1776
[52]	Brig. <i>Cabot</i>	Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[53]	Brig. <i>Cabot</i>	Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[54]	Brig. <i>Cabot</i>	Sick quarters	Oct. 20	1776
[55]	Brig. <i>Cabot</i>	Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[56]	Brig. <i>Cabot</i>	Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[57]	Brig. <i>Cabot</i>	Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[58]	Brig. <i>Cabot</i>	Ship <i>Columbus</i>	June 4	1776
[59]			Sept. 24	1776
[60]	Hospital	Prize Brig. <i>Favourite</i>	Sept. 8	1776
[61]			April 9	1776
[62]	Sloop <i>Fly</i>	Prize Brig. <i>Favourite</i>	Sept. 8	1776
[63]	Sloop <i>Fly</i>	Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[64]	Rhode Is. Brigade	Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[65]	Rhode Is. Brigade	Prize Brig. <i>Britannia</i>	Aug. 27	1776
[66]	Rhode Is. Brigade			
[67]	Rhode Is. Brigade	<i>Columbus's Prize</i>	Sept. 10	1776
[68]	Rhode Is. Brigade			
[69]	Rhode Is. Brigade			
[70]	Rhode Is. Brigade	Prize Brig. <i>Britannia</i>	Aug. 27	1776
[71]	Rhode Is. Brigade	Prize Brig. <i>Favourite</i>	Sept. 8	1776
[72]	Rhode Is. Brigade	Ship <i>Alfred</i>	Oct. 20	1776
[73]	Rhode Is. Brigade	Prize Brig. <i>Britannia</i>	Aug. 27	1776
[74]	Rhode Is. Brigade	Prize Brig. <i>Defiance</i>	Sept. 23	1776
[75]	Rhode Is. Brigade	<i>Columbus's Prize</i>	Sept. 10	1776

No.	Time of Entry		Names in original	Station	Run, Dead, Discharged
	Month	Year			
[76]	June 14	1776	James Searles . . .	Soldier . . .	Run June 19, 1776
[77]	June 14	1776	Constant Whitford .	Soldier . . .	Run June 29, 1776
[78]	June 14	1776	Richard Pearce . . .	Soldier	
[79]	June 14	1776	John Robinson . . .	Soldier	
[80]	June 14	1776	Thomas Harris . . .	Soldier . . .	Run June 29, 1776
[81]	June 14	1776	John Hicks . . .	Soldier	
[82]	June 14	1776	Isaac Stearns . . .	Soldier . . .	Dis. Feb. 10
[83]	June 14	1776	James Merrihew . .	Soldier . . .	Run July 6
[84]	June 14	1776	Elnathan Newman . .	Soldier fifer . .	Dis. Oct. 10
[85]	June 14	1776	Samuel Peckham . .	Drummer	
[86]	Aug. 19	1776	John Jones . . .	Landsman	
[87]	Aug. 19	1776	Samuel True . . .	Landsman	
[88]	Aug. 19	1776	Michael Dealy . . .	Landsman	
[89]	Aug. 19	1776	Joseph Vesey . . .	Actg. master	
[90]	Aug. 19	1776	John Webster . . .	Boatswain	
[91]	Aug. 19	1776	John Darbarrow . .	Boat yeoman	
[92]	Aug. 19	1776	Jesse Crossman . . .	Gunner's mate	
[93]	Aug. 19	1776	Samuel Fry . . .	Cooper	
[94]	Aug. 19	1776	John Killen . . .	Captain's clerk	
[95]	Aug. 19	1776	John Williams . . .	Landsman	
[96]	Aug. 19	1776	James Crawford . .	Landsman	
[97]	Aug. 19	1776	Ezekiel Vangilder . .	Landsman	
[98]	Aug. 19	1776	John Moncly . . .	Landsman	
[99]	Aug. 19	1776	John Powel . . .	Landsman	
[100]	Aug. 19	1776	Abraham Sing . . .	Landsman	
[101]	Aug. 19	1776	Henry Young . . .	Landsman	
[102]	Aug. 19	1776	Mathias Grimes . . .	Seaman	
[103]	Aug. 19	1776	Aaron Quigley . . .	Scaman	
[104]	Aug. 19	1776	John Stewart . . .	Seaman	
[105]	Aug. 26	1776	Zebulon Whippy . .	Master's mate	
[106]	Aug. 26	1776	Abel Coffin . . .	3d Mate . . .	Run Oct. 29, 1776
[107]	Aug. 26	1776	Casey Beruick . . .	Landsman	
[108]	Aug. 26	1776	Joshua Moses . . .	Landsman	
[109]	Aug. 26	1776	Anthony Forrest . .	Seaman	
[110]	Aug. 26	1776	Richard Bransdale . .	Seaman	
[111]	Aug. 26	1776	James Foney . . .	Landsman	
[112]	Aug. 26	1776	Anthony Anabona . .	Landsman	
[113]	Aug. 26	1776	Samuel Wogs . . .	Seaman	
[114]	Aug. 26	1776	John Coet . . .	Seaman	
[115]	Aug. 26	1776	Peter Patourel . . .	Seaman	
[116]	Sept. 4	1776	George Lovie . . .	Actg. Lieut.	

Turned over from		Turned over to		Time promoted	
				Month	Year
[76]	Rhode Is. Brigade				
[77]	Rhode Is. Brigade				
[78]	Rhode Is. Brigade . . . .	Prize Ship <i>Alexander</i> . . . .		Sept. 25	1776
[79]	Rhode Is. Brigade . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[80]	Rhode Is. Brigade				
[81]	Rhode Is. Brigade . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Defiance</i> . . . .		Sept. 23	1776
[82]	Rhode Is. Brigade . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . .		Sept. 5	1776
[83]	Rhode Is. Brigade				
[84]	Rhode Is. Brigade				
[85]	Rhode Is. Brigade . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Defiance</i> . . . .		Sept. 23	1776
[86]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . .		Aug. 27	1776
[87]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . .		Aug. 27	1776
[88]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Favourite</i> . . . .		Sept. 8	1776
[89]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Favourite</i> . . . .		Sept. 8	1776
[90]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[91]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Sick quarters . . . . .		Oct. 10	1776
[92]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[93]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[94]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .		Aug. 27	1776
[95]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Favourite</i> . . . .		Sept. 8	1776
[96]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[97]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[98]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[99]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Prize <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[100]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[101]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Prize <i>Favourite</i> . . . . .		Sept. 8	1776
[102]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Brig. <i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . . .		Sept. 5	1776
[103]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Brig. <i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . . .		Sept. 5	1776
[104]	Sloop <i>Hornet</i> . . . . .	Brig. <i>Favourite</i> . . . . .		Sept. 8	1776
[105]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> taken . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[106]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Success</i> . . . .		Sept. 23	1776
[107]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Defiance</i> . . . .		Sept. 23	1776
[108]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[109]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Brig. <i>Favourite</i> . . . . .		Sept. 8	1776
[110]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[111]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[112]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[113]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[114]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[115]	Brig. <i>Britannia</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776
[116]	Brig. <i>Sea Nymph</i> taken . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .		Oct. 20	1776

No.	Time of Entry		Names in original	Station	Run, Dead, Discharged
	Month	Year			
[117]	Sept. 23	1776	James Daley . . . .	Surgeon's mate	Sick at Newport, Oct. 10
[118]	Oct. 4	1776	Peter Diamond		
[119]	Oct. 4	1776	Stephen Ryan		
[120]	Sept. 7	1776	Benj. Allen . . . .	Seaman	
[121]	Sept. 7	1776	Barney Gallagher . .	Actg.midshipman	
[122]	Sept. 4	1776	James Bascum . . . .	Seaman	
[123]	Sept. 4	1776	Anthony Lewis . . . .	Landsman	
[124]	Sept. 4	1776	Peter Conya . . . .	Landsman	
[125]	Sept. 4	1776	William Tyrer . . . .	Landsman	
[126]	Sept. 7	1776	James Bachope		
[127]	Sept. 7	1776	William Roberts . .	Seaman	
[128]	Sept. 4	1776	Prince Williams . .	Landsman	
[129]	Sept. 7	1776	John Willson . . . .	Seaman	
[130]	Aug. 19	1776	William Kelly . . . .	Landsman	
[131]	Sept. 4	1776	William Middleton . .	Seaman	
[132]	Sept. 4	1776	William Wells . . . .	Seaman . . .	Run Oct. 20, 1776
[133]	Sept. 7	1776	William Lewis . . . .	Seaman . . .	Run Sept. 23, 1776
[134]	Sept. 7	1776	Patrick Devaraux . .	Seaman	
[135]	Sept. 7	1776	Thomas Burch . . . .	Boy	
[136]	Sept. 7	1776	John Traverse . . . .	Boy . . . .	Hospital Oct. 10
[137]	Sept. 22	1776	John Brown . . . .	Seaman	
[138]	Sept. 23	1776	Benj. Hill . . . .	Pilot . . . .	Dis. Oct. 29
[139]	Sept. 23	1776	Jonathan Fish . . . .	Actg.midshipman	Dis. Oct.
[140]	Sept. 23	1776	Tho' Brewer . . . .	Carpenter's mate	Run Oct. 23
[141]	Sept. 23	1776	George Nicholson . .	Seaman	
[142]	Sept. 23	1776	John Fears . . . .	Seaman	
[143]	Sept. 23	1776	Stephen Seamore . .	Seaman . . .	Run Oct. 20, 1776
[144]	Sept. 23	1776	Isaac Caplin . . . .	Seaman . . .	Run Oct. 20, 1776



Turned over from		Turned over to	Time promoted	
			Month	Year
[117]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[118]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[119]	. . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[120]	Brig. <i>Favourite</i> taken . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Defiance</i> . . .	Sept. 23	1776
[121]	Brig. <i>Favourite</i> . . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Defiance</i> . . .	Sept. 23	1776
[122]	<i>Sea Nymph</i> taken . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[123]	<i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[124]	<i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[125]	<i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[126]	<i>Favourite</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[127]	<i>Favourite</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[128]	<i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[129]	<i>Favourite</i> . . . . .	Ship <i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[130]	. . . . .	Prize . . . . .	Sept. 8	1776
[131]	<i>Sea Nymph</i> . . . . .	Sick quarters . . . . .	Oct. 10	1776
[132]	<i>Sea Nymph</i>			
[133]	<i>Favourite</i>			
[134]	<i>Favourite</i> . . . . .	<i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[135]	<i>Favourite</i> . . . . .	<i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[136]	<i>Favourite</i> . . . . .	Sick quarters . . . . .	Oct. 10	1776
[137]	. . . . .	<i>Alfred</i> . . . . .	Oct. 20	1776
[138]				
[139]				
[140]				
[141]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Defiance</i> . . .	Sept. 23	1776
[142]	. . . . .	Prize Brig. <i>Defiance</i> . . .	Sept. 23	1776
[143]				
[144]				



The original of the following letter (which does not appear ever to have been published) is in the valuable collection of naval literature owned by Mr. Charles T. Harbeck, by whose kind permission it is now printed:

*L'Orient, Feby 24<sup>th</sup> 1779.*

In the fulness of my heart I congratulate you on your well merited elevation to the Dignity of a Seat in the first Senate on this Globe. I trust you will believe that I do now and ever shall rejoice in every circumstance that tends to promote the honor and happiness of a good man, whose ambition it is to vindicate the rights of human Nature and who claims my regard and affection with an affection that proceeds directly from the Heart and is due only to the best of Friends.

My correspondence with you has been in-

errupted thro' the perplexity of my situation since the month of May, as well as thro' my expectations of seeing you again in Europe.

I have now only time to refer you to the within papers and to the letters and papers which I have lately forwarded and now forward to Mr Morris, particularly my letters to him of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of Nov. last.

I am told that Lieutenant Simpson is again fitting out the *Ranger*. I can say nothing on the propriety or the impropriety of that Measure. I will govern myself by Mr Morris's advice, therefore I beg of you to write to me.

I hope you are in the Marine Committee — be it so or not, I shall send you my free thoughts as they occur on Navy Matters; there is in that department great room for amendments, and the abuses in it at this distance appear so bare-faced that I am not very ambitious to approach too near the object. I shall for the present content myself if I can do any real service to the Common Cause or any honor to the American Flag *without subjecting America to any expense.*

I am obliged to be thus short as the bearer departs immediately and has not given me half an hour's warning. The within papers may, *if you please*, be laid before Congress.

I am truly and affectionately

Your Friend & Servant,

JNO P. JONES

N.B.—Dr. Franklin, who honors me with his Friendship, will take care of my letters.

To the Honble WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.



THE RECOVERY OF THE BODY  
OF  
JOHN PAUL JONES

BY  
GENERAL HORACE PORTER, LL.D.  
*Recently Ambassador of the United States to France*





# THE RECOVERY OF THE BODY OF JOHN PAUL JONES <sup>1</sup>

UPON assuming charge of our embassy in Paris and finding myself among the old landmarks which are still honored there as recalling the many historic incidents in the sojourn of Paul Jones in that brilliant capital, I felt a deep sense of humiliation as an American citizen in realizing that our first and most fascinating naval hero had been lying for more than a century in an unknown and forgotten grave and that no successful attempt had ever been made to recover his remains and give them appropriate sepulture in the land upon whose history he had shed so much luster.

Knowing that he had been buried in Paris, I resolved to undertake personally a systematic and exhaustive search for the body.

The investigation began in June, 1899. The first step was to study all the writings obtainable relating to him, including official documents. The certificate of his burial had been registered, but the register had been placed with other archives of the city of Paris

<sup>1</sup> Copyright, 1905, by Horace Porter.

in an annex of the Hôtel de Ville, situated on Victoria Avenue, and had been destroyed with other important records when the government buildings were burned by the Commune in May, 1871. Fortunately, in 1859, Mr. Charles Read, an archæologist, investigator, and writer of note, had made a transcript of the register in which this certificate was recorded, and I finally succeeded in securing a correct copy. The following is a translation of this interesting document:

To-day, July 20th, 1792, year IV of Liberty, at eight o'clock in the evening, conformably to the decree of the National Assembly of yesterday, in presence of the delegation of the said Assembly, composed of Messrs. Brun, President of the delegation of the said assembly, Bravet, Cambon, Rouyer, Brival, Deydier, Gay Vernon, Bishop of the Department of Haute Vienne, Chabot, Episcopal Vicar of the Department of Loir and Cher, Carlier, Petit, Le Josnes, Robouame, and of a deputation of the Consistory of the Protestants of Paris, composed of Messrs. Marron the pastor, Perreaux, Benard, Marquis Mouguin, and Empaytaz, Anciens, was buried in the cemetery for foreign Protestants JEAN PAUL JONES, native of England and citizen of the United States of America, senior naval officer in the service of the said States, aged 45 years, died the 18th of this month at his residence situated at No. 42, Rue de Tournon, from dropsy of the chest, in the faith of the Protestant religion. The said burial was made in our presence by Pierre François Simonneau, Commissary of the King for this section and Commissary of Police for the Ponceau section, in presence of

M. Samuel Blackden, Colonel of Dragoons in the service of the State of North Carolina and a citizen of the United States of America; J. C. Mountflorenc, formerly Major in the service of the United States; Marie Jean Baptiste Benoist Beaupoil, formerly a French officer residing in Paris at No. 7, Passage des Petits Pères; and of Louis Nicolas Villeminot, the officer commanding the detachment of grenadiers of the gendarmerie which escorted the delegation of the Assembly; and others who have signed with us.

Brun; Gay Vernon, bishop and deputy; Deydier, deputy from the Department of Ain; Rouyer; François Chabot; Benard; J. C. Mountflorenc; Petit; Cambon fils aîné; Bravé; Beaupoil; P. H. Carlier; Durvesque; Lafontaine; Simonneau; Jacques Briviel; Villeminot; Robouame, deputy; Marron; Perreaux; Mouguin; Empaytaz; R. Ghiselin of Maryland; S. Blackden; Griffith of Philadelphia.

Historians have differed as to the date of the death; the above quoted act of burial fixes it definitely on July 18, 1792. The best description of Paul Jones's last moments is given in a letter received a month after the funeral by his eldest sister, Mrs. Jenny Taylor (sometimes spelled in the official documents Jeanne, Janet, and Janette), in Scotland, written by his intimate friend, a witness of his will and a pall-bearer at his funeral, Colonel Samuel Blackden, a rich planter from North Carolina, who had served with distinction in the American Revolution, and was in Paris on business at the time of Paul Jones's last illness and death. The following is an extract from his letter:

But for two months past he began to lose his appetite, grew yellow and showed symptoms of jaundice. For this he took medical treatment and for a short time seemed to grow better. A few days before his death his legs began to swell, which proceeded upward to his body, so that for two days before his decease he could not button his waistcoat and had great difficulty in breathing.

I visited him every day, and, beginning to be apprehensive of his danger, desired him to settle his affairs; but he would not take that view of it, and put off the making of his will until the afternoon of July 18th, when he was prevailed upon to send for a notary and made his will. M. Beaupoil and myself witnessed it and left him sitting in a chair in his parlor. A few minutes after we retired he walked into his chamber and laid himself upon his face on the bedside, with his feet on the floor. The Queen's physician, who was attending him, came soon after, and on entering the apartment found him in that position, and on trying to lift him up, found that he had expired. His disorder had terminated in dropsy of the heart. His body was put into a leaden coffin on the 20th, that, in case the United States, which he had so essentially served, and with so much honor, should claim his remains they might be more easily removed.

M. Beaupoil, whom he mentioned, was a major in the French army and an aide-de-camp to Lafayette, with whom he had served in the American Revolution.

I was misled for some time by having been furnished with an alleged copy of the certificate of

burial published in the "Bulletin of the Society of the History of Protestantism," in which there had been omitted after the word "anciens," doubtless through an error of the copyist, the following all-important phrase, "was buried in the cemetery for foreign Protestants." Besides this, eight words of minor significance had been omitted. The fact that the French construction was defective without some additional words led to another search, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale was at last found a copy of a magazine called the "Correspondance Littéraire," containing an article by Charles Read, giving the correct copy of the certificate of burial, which he had made from the register referred to and of which the above is an English translation. The article expressed the conviction of Mr. Read that the cemetery for foreign Protestants was the long since abandoned and almost forgotten cemetery of Saint Louis, situated upon a street formerly called L'Hôpital Saint Louis, at present Grange-aux-Belles.

As some writers had expressed, however vaguely, different opinions, I instituted a long and exhaustive search to verify the grounds upon which Mr. Read had based his belief.

Public records were found showing that in 1720 the government, at the instigation of Holland, had set aside a lot for the burial of foreign Protestants near the Porte Saint Martin, called the Saint Martin cemetery, but which was closed in 1762. The Saint Louis cemetery for foreign Protestants was opened

about that time and officially closed in January, 1793, six months after Paul Jones's decease, although some interments were made thereafter.

The custodian in charge of each of these cemeteries was named Corroy, and it was ascertained from certain old documents discovered that the position had descended from father to son, which was evidence tending to show that the Saint Louis was the immediate successor of the Porte Saint Martin cemetery. A copy was afterward found of a decree confirming this fact, issued May 26, 1781, and approved by De Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Louis XVI, regarding the burial of foreign Protestants. From this decree have been taken the following extracts:

By an order of Council of June 20th, 1720, it was decreed that there should be designated a place for the burial of the bodies of Foreign Protestants. The ground which was chosen was situated near the Porte Saint Martin. . . .

In the year 1762 the cemetery was transferred behind the Saint Louis Hospital.

This description clearly designated the Saint Louis cemetery. To endeavor to obtain some authentic information as to whether there were any other cemeteries for foreign Protestants in existence at the time, and whether any further corroborative evidence could be found regarding the burial-place of the admiral, an examination requiring several months was made of all the journals and periodicals obtainable of about

the date of the funeral, which took place July 20, 1792. Access was had to more than a hundred publications which were found in the possession of libraries, societies, and individuals.

The "Monitor," Tome XIII, page 192, published a report of the proceedings of the National Assembly, session of July 19, 1792, the day after Paul Jones's death, which contained the following statement:

A letter was read from Colonel Blackden, a friend of Commodore Paul Jones, which announced that his friend having died in Paris, application was made to M. Simonneau, Commissary of the section, to have him buried without charge in accordance with a formality still existing in regard to Protestants. M. Simonneau was indignant and replied that if the expenses were not provided he would pay them himself. [Applause.]

The "formality" mentioned referred to a decree by which M. Simonneau, who was also "Commissary of the King," was charged with the burial of all foreign Protestants. The letter of Colonel Blackden was published in the "Boston Journal" of that year and is as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: I announce to you that Admiral Paul Jones died last evening in Paris; that the American Minister has ordered the person at whose house the Admiral lodged to cause him to be interred in the most private manner, and at the least possible expense!!! This person, on account of the formalities still existing relative to Protestants, found it

necessary to apply to a Commissary. He has done it, and M. Simonneau the Commissary expresses his astonishment at the order given by the Minister, and says that a man who has rendered such signal services to France and America ought to have a public burial. He adds that if America will not pay the expense he will pay it himself. The friends of the Admiral wait the orders of the Assembly respecting the mode of interment.

S. BLACKDEN,

Late Colonel in the Service of the United States

In order to ascertain, if possible, whether M. Simonneau had actually paid the funeral expenses out of his own means or whether some other provision had been made, I instituted a search in the various departments of the government in the hope of finding some record of the action taken. Fortunately a letter was finally found in the National Archives written by the then Minister of Justice, M. Déjoly, dated July 22, 1792, two days after the funeral, from which the following is an extract:

TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: M. Simonneau has furnished the cost of the interment of Admiral Paul Jones, of which the bill amounts to 462 francs. This is an homage which he has rendered to the remains of this celebrated man, and this act of good citizenship is worthy of M. Simonneau, brother of the Mayor of Étampes, who died in executing the law.

This brought to light for the first time the mortifying fact that the hero who had once been the idol



of the American people had been buried by charity, and that the payment of his funeral expenses was the timely and generous act of a foreign admirer.

I made a search to see whether any needy lineal descendants of M. Pierre François Simonneau, the generous Commissary, could be found, with a view to paying to them the amount, with interest, expended by their worthy ancestor, as a tardy recognition of his noble act. Six persons of that name were discovered and communicated with, but no proof could be ascertained that any one of them was a descendant.

Our minister to France at that time, Gouverneur Morris, who was on terms of close intimacy with Paul Jones and who superintended the drawing up of the schedule of his property the afternoon before his death, says in a letter dated April 19, 1793, published in his "Diary and Letters," Volume II, page 46, and addressed to Robert Morris:

Before I quit Paul Jones I must tell you that some people here who like rare shows wished him to have a pompous funeral, and I was applied to on the subject; but as I had no right to spend money on such follies, either the money of his heirs or that of the United States, I desired that he might be buried in a private and economical manner. I have since had reason to be glad that I did not agree to waste money of which he had no great abundance and for which his relatives entertained a tender regard.

The impression as to the admiral's having no great abundance of means proved later to be erroneous.

When his effects were sold, stocks converted into cash, and arrears of pay collected, the sum procured amounted to about thirty thousand dollars, and much more was realized afterward, which went to his heirs. And yet there seemed to be no ready money available at his death to provide for his funeral.

After finding the living successor to the notary who made the settlement of the estate and who was in possession of all the original papers in French, I had the detailed account examined and ascertained that M. Simonneau had not been reimbursed for the money he expended. The inventory found among these papers and made after Paul Jones's death enumerates among the articles left by him, seven uniforms, twelve decorations, and four swords. It was natural to suppose that this large number included all such articles as he possessed, and as in those days they were regarded as valuable relics to be bequeathed to heirs, and as it was not customary to clothe the dead but to bury them in winding-sheets, it seemed quite probable that no uniform, sword, or decoration would be found in the admiral's coffin. Buell says of Paul Jones (page 366, Volume II): "He was buried in a shroud, without uniform or trappings of any kind." In the settlement of the estate all the above-named articles were sold except the sword presented to him by Louis XVI in recognition of his heroic achievement in capturing the *Serapis*. This the admiral disposed of orally just before his death, bequeathing it to Richard Dale, his

first lieutenant aboard the *Bonhomme Richard*, saying: "My good old Dick is better entitled to it than any one else, because he did more than any other to help me win it."

M. Simonneau, having taken so much interest in Paul Jones and being in sole charge of the burial of foreign Protestants in Paris, would naturally have interred him in the officially designated and most prominent burial-ground devoted to that purpose if there were more than one in existence. The Saint Louis cemetery was well known and officially designated, and as no mention could be found of any other in Paris for foreign Protestants at the time, the natural inference was that the burial had taken place there. Certain records discovered in Paris showed that M. Hop, ambassador of Holland to France, had succeeded in securing the cemetery granted by decree in 1720, and which was opened in 1724 for foreign Protestants, and that in that cemetery as well as in its successors all the burials of such persons could be made only upon certificates issued by the Dutch embassy.

With a view to ascertaining some information from that source, a search was made at my request of the records of the Dutch legation in Paris and in the foreign office at The Hague, but it was found that while some useful information was obtained, no copies of such certificates had been preserved.

The person who delivered Paul Jones's funeral oration was M. Paul Henri Marron, who had come

from Holland and was pastor of a Protestant house of worship in Paris called the Church of Saint Louis. The following is a copy of his rather florid address:

Legislators! Citizens! Soldiers! Friends! Brethren! and Frenchmen! We have just returned to the earth the remains of an illustrious stranger, one of the first champions of American liberty—of that liberty which so gloriously ushered in our own. The Semiramis of the North had drawn him under her standard, but Paul Jones could not long breathe the pestilential air of despotism; he preferred the sweets of a private life in France, now free, to the éclat of titles and of honors which, from an usurped throne, were lavished upon him by Catherine. The fame of the brave outlives him, his portion is immortality. What more flattering homage could we pay to the remains of Paul Jones than to swear on his tomb to live and die free? It is the vow, it is the watchword of every Frenchman. Let never tyrants nor their satellites pollute this sacred earth! May the ashes of the great man, too soon lost to humanity, and eager to be free, enjoy here an undisturbed repose! Let his example teach posterity the efforts which noble souls are capable of making when stimulated by hatred of oppression. Friends and brethren, a noble emulation brightens in your looks; your time is precious *the country is in danger!* Who among us would not shed the last drop of his blood to save it? Associate yourselves with the glory of Paul Jones, in imitating him in his contempt of danger, in his devotedness to his country, in his noble patriotism, which, after having astonished the present age, will continue to be the imperishable object of the veneration of future generations!

It is not a little singular that, notwithstanding the radical sentiments expressed by this pastor, he was several times arrested by the revolutionists and was once or twice in great peril of his life.

I found the book containing the minutes of the meetings of the consistory of M. Marron's church, but just at the date of Paul Jones's death four pages had been torn out. This was one of the many disappointments encountered during the researches. I then set to work upon the task of trying to trace the lost leaves. The name of a M. Coquerel, a former pastor of the church, was mentioned in a publication as an enthusiastic collector of papers relating to Protestantism in Paris. My search in junk-shops and antiquarian stores revealed the fact that M. Coquerel's heirs had sold some old papers which had afterward been purchased by the Society of the History of Protestantism, and in its library were finally found the four lost pages.

I now ascertained positively that M. Marron buried his parishioners in the Saint Louis cemetery, and the fact that he had delivered the funeral oration of Paul Jones would be some indication that he had also buried him there.

While all the proofs thus far distinctly designated this cemetery as the admiral's place of burial, still it was deemed prudent to investigate the source of various rumors to the contrary, however improbable. The elder Dumas in his romance of "The Pioneer" represents Paul Jones as having been buried in Père

Lachaise. Notwithstanding the fact that this celebrated cemetery had not been opened till thirteen years after the admiral was buried, yet to be sure that his body had not been transferred there in later years, a thorough examination was made of the registers in which the records of burials have been carefully kept. The only male persons found upon the registers bearing the family name of Jones were George Jones, but spelled Jones on the gravestone, died in 1820; John Querean Jones in 1822; James Jones in 1827; Charles Jones in 1829; Edouard Thomas Jones in 1833. It was therefore certain that the admiral's remains were not in Père Lachaise.

There was another fanciful story that he had been interred in Picpus cemetery, where Lafayette was buried; but as Paul Jones, as recorded in his certificate of burial, was of the Protestant faith, his interment in any cemetery of the established church would have been prohibited. Still a search was made, and it disproved the rumor.

A letter came to me from a person who had lived in Scotland when a child, many years ago, saying Paul Jones had been buried in Kirkbean churchyard near Dumfries, Scotland, that his tomb was there with his name inscribed on it, etc. I referred the letter to the rector of the church, the Rev. D. W. Mac Kenzie, who replied that it was the tomb of the father, saying:

The inscription on it is as follows: "In memory of John Paul, Senior, who died at Abigland the 24th

of October 1767 universally esteemed." At the bottom of the tomb appears the inscription: "Erected by John Paul, Junior." John Paul, of course, is the original name of John Paul Jones, the Admiral. I take great interest in the history of the Admiral, and local traditions or printed documents suggest nothing at variance with the accepted opinion that he died in Paris and was buried in the Protestant cemetery there.

After further researches in every possible quarter that could furnish information on the subject, the fact was clearly and incontestably established that the Saint Louis cemetery was the only burial-ground in Paris for foreign Protestants at the time of Paul Jones's death, that he was not interred in any other cemetery, and that Charles Read was perfectly correct in his opinion that the admiral had positively been buried in the cemetery of Saint Louis. It should be remembered also that the act of burial says, "*The cemetery for foreign Protestants*"—language which would indicate that there was only one in existence devoted to that purpose.

All doubt having been removed as to the place of burial, the next step was to make a personal inspection of the ground beneath which the long since abandoned cemetery was located and to endeavor to ascertain its history and its condition at the time of Paul Jones's death.

It is situated in an uninviting section of the north-eastern quarter of Paris at the corner of two streets now known as Rue Grange-aux-Belles and Rue des Écluses Saint Martin, and covered with buildings,

principally of an inferior class. The property at the time of the admiral's burial belonged to the government, and was sold to M. Phalipeaux, a building contractor, in 1796. This quarter of the city was known as "le Combat," and the present station of the underground railroad close to the property is called "Combat." This name was not chosen, however, on account of the burial there of the most combative of men; but history attributes the term to the fact that this section of Paris was long ago the scene of all the fights in which animals figured—bulls, cocks, dogs, asses, etc.

A street which leads directly to the property and ends there is named Vicq d'Azyr, after Marie Antoinette's physician, a friend of Paul Jones, who attended him and who accompanied Gouverneur Morris on his visit to the admiral's house when he lay on his death-bed the evening of July 18, 1792. When a person's name is given to a street in Paris it is generally in a quarter connected with events in his career. Whether the distinguished physician's name was given to the street because of its leading to the place which held the remains of his illustrious friend and patient is not positively known.

Two old maps of the property were finally discovered, one made by M. Jaillot in 1773, and one by M. Verniquet in 1794, showing that the ground consisted of a courtyard with a frontage of about one hundred and thirty feet upon Rue des Écluses Saint Martin, with an entrance on that street and a depth



of about ninety feet along Rue Grange-aux-Belles. There was a garden in the rear with a frontage of one hundred and twenty feet on Rue Grange-aux-Belles and a depth of one hundred and thirty feet. The surface of the garden was about eight feet lower than that of the courtyard, the descent to which was made by a flight of steps. Thirty years later the grade of the street had been changed and the garden had been leveled up even with the courtyard, and the fact seemed to have been lost sight of that there had ever been a cemetery beneath. There were two cross-walks dividing the garden into four squares. The whole property was surrounded by a wall between six and nine feet high. There was a house in the courtyard and a shed, but no buildings in the garden.

By a decree of the government the garden was devoted exclusively to the burial of foreign Protestants. On the 30th of September, 1777, a decree was issued permitting native Protestants to be buried thereafter in the courtyard. This cemetery, as hereinbefore mentioned, was legally closed in January, 1793, but the former custodian, who had become the lessor, and the subsequent owners who had purchased the property from the government, were allowed to make some burials for eleven years thereafter.

I found in the tenth arrondissement, then the fifth, a copy of a letter written by the mayor, dated May 26, 1804, directing Citizen Richer to inspect the Protestant cemetery. After a long search I discovered

in another quarter of the city his report of June 8 of that year. It was in much detail and was entirely in accordance with the maps heretofore mentioned in describing the Saint Louis cemetery. Its accuracy was verified in every particular when this cemetery was afterward explored.

The next question was whether the dead had ever been removed from this abandoned cemetery, as had been the case in many others. Satisfactory proof was readily obtained that such an act had not taken place before 1803 or after 1830. A search of the registers of the Catacombs, where all the dead that are removed from abandoned cemeteries are deposited, showed no record of any bodies having been received from the Saint Louis cemetery between the above dates or at any other time, and there could be found no information in any of the public departments showing that any removal had ever been made from that burial-ground except of the remains of Lady Alexander Grant, whose body had been exhumed for transportation to England, by formal permission of the city authorities, duly recorded, May 2, 1803. There was registered at the Catacombs the receipt of leaden coffins from other abandoned cemeteries, and the removal there of a hand-stretcher load of human bones from No. 39 Rue Grange-aux-Belles and another from No. 4 Rue des Écluses Saint Martin. These lots had once been used as a kind of potter's field. They were near to, but entirely outside of the Saint Louis cemetery.

Having established the impossibility of the leaden coffin having been removed by legitimate means, the only remaining doubt that could exist was based upon the suggestion that it might have been unearthed by the revolutionary armies to convert it into bullets. This unfounded surmise did not make much of an impression after a study of all the circumstances and talks with the "oldest inhabitants," to whom traditions of a former age are handed down. The French have a profound respect for the dead and the sacredness of places of burial; the humblest citizen uncovers reverently when a funeral passes; graves are tenderly cared for and kept decked with flowers, and their desecration is a rare crime.

At the time of the Revolution there were statues and busts of lead in exposed places and extensive lead piping to carry the water from the Seine to Versailles, etc., none of which were disturbed. Moreover, the metal contained in the few leaden coffins to be found at that date in a Paris cemetery would not have paid the digging or furnished bullets for a single battalion.

If the admiral had been buried in a wooden coffin hardly a vestige of it would have been in existence and only the mere skeleton of the body would have been found. Fortunately, however, the authentic letter written to Mrs. Janet Taylor, Paul Jones's eldest sister, by Colonel Blackden, and hereinbefore quoted, contained the following valuable information: "His body was put into a leaden coffin on the 20th,

that, in case the United States, which he had so essentially served, and with so much honor, should claim his remains they might be more easily removed." The bill of 462 francs paid by M. Simonneau for the funeral expenses was corroborative of this fact, inasmuch as the cost of an ordinary funeral in those days, as ascertained from the records, was 128 francs, while that of a hospital patient cost as little as 89 francs, distributed as follows: Coffin 10 francs, choristers 10, sexton 15, commissary 48, his clerk 6. The payment therefor of 462 francs, more than three times the value of that sum at the present day, would have provided for an unusually large expenditure and would have amply covered the cost of a substantial leaden coffin, a thorough preparation of the body to insure its preservation, and an elaborate system of packing, with a view to its transportation by sea.

There had now been fully established by authentic documents and convincing corroborative evidence the fact that the Saint Louis cemetery was the actual burial-place of Paul Jones, that he had been buried in a leaden coffin, that the body had been prepared for transportation to the United States, that the coffin had never been removed by legitimate means, and that there was no probability that it had been carried away by stealth or had been stolen.

After having studied the manner and place of his burial and contemplated the circumstances connected with the strange neglect of his grave, one could not

help feeling pained beyond expression and overcome by a sense of profound mortification. Here was presented the spectacle of a hero whose fame once covered two continents and whose name is still an inspiration to a world-famed navy, lying for more than a century in a forgotten grave like an obscure outcast, relegated to oblivion in a squalid quarter of a distant foreign city, buried in ground once consecrated, but since desecrated by having been used at times as a garden, with the moldering bodies of the dead fertilizing its market vegetables, by having been covered later by a common dump pile, where dogs and horses had been buried, and the soil was still soaked with polluted waters from undrained laundries; and as a culmination of degradation, by having been occupied by a contractor for removing night-soil.

It recalls the remark once made by a gallant naval officer: "When we give up our lives in the service of our country we do not ask that our graves be kept green, but we should like to have them kept clean."

Having collected all the facts necessary to justify an immediate attempt to remove the remains from such offensive surroundings and secure for them appropriate sepulcher in America, I was about to open negotiations quietly with the proprietors and tenants who occupied the property with a view to purchasing the right to enter upon the premises and make the necessary excavations in order to explore thoroughly the cemetery, when unfortunately the news of

this intention became publicly known through the indiscretion of persons who had been consulted on the subject. Self-constituted agents immediately began to busy themselves with circulating fantastic stories regarding the fabulous prices that were to be paid for the property, the whole of which it was said was going to be bought by a rich government, at any cost, as the only means of getting access to the cemetery and making the excavations necessary to find the body of its great admiral. Such representations naturally created intense excitement, raised false hopes in the minds of those interested in the property, and rendered negotiations on a practicable basis entirely impossible. This was altogether the most discouraging episode in the history of the undertaking.

There was then but one course to pursue, however reluctantly, which was to drop the matter entirely for a couple of years in order to let the excitement subside.

At the end of that time negotiations were quietly opened upon the basis of purchasing the right to explore the abandoned cemetery by means of subterranean galleries, provided that all damages to houses should be repaired, any victims of disease caused by foul emanations from the disturbed soil indemnified, and the property restored to its former condition. After a series of prolonged and tedious negotiations, appeals to the public spirit of the occupants of the property and an assurance that the gov-

ernment had made no appropriation or taken any action in the matter, and that the work was simply an individual undertaking, I at last succeeded in procuring options in writing from all concerned granting the right for three months to enter upon the premises and make the necessary excavations.

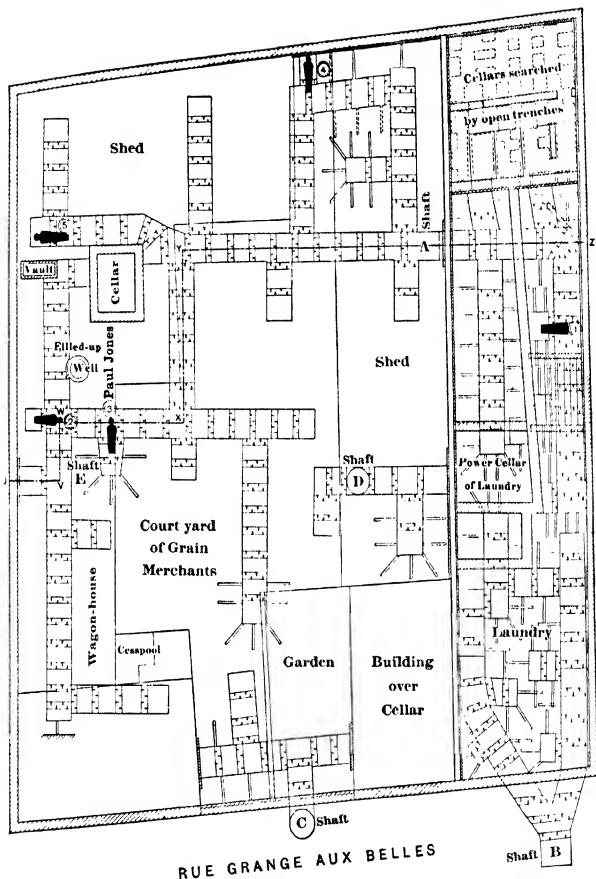
President Roosevelt, whose patriotic sentiments are among his strongest characteristics, upon learning of the undertaking, had asked for information regarding it, and upon receiving my reply giving an account of the project, sent an urgent message to Congress in February, 1905, recommending an appropriation of \$35,000, for carrying out the work. It was late in the short session and no action was taken. It would not have been altogether unnatural, however, to regard the scheme as too Utopian in its nature to receive serious consideration, the remains of the admiral having been long since relegated to the realms of mystery and given up as lost beyond recovery.

As no promise could be secured as to how long the options obtained would be allowed to hold good, and as it was quite sure that if they lapsed they could never be renewed upon any such terms, if at all, on account of changes among the tenants, the adverse disposition of some of the occupants, the publicity which had now been given the matter, etc., I deemed it a duty to pay at once the sums demanded in advance to bind the options, and to proceed with the work.

The Prefect of the Seine kindly permitted M. Paul Weiss of the service of the carrières (quarries) of the city of Paris to direct the work, which was begun on Friday, February 3, 1905. This experienced and accomplished mining engineer displayed a professional skill of the very highest order, and by his ability, zeal, and devotion to the work greatly facilitated the task. The project presented serious difficulties from the fact that the filling of earth above the cemetery was composed of the dumpings of loose soil not compact enough to stand alone, and the shafts and galleries had to be solidly lined and shored up with heavy timbers as the excavations proceeded. The drainage was bad in places and there was trouble from the water. The walls of one of the buildings were considerably damaged. Slime, mud, and mephitic odors were encountered, and long red worms appeared in abundance.

The first shaft (marked A in the plan here inserted) was opened in one of the yards to a depth of eighteen feet. It proved clearly that the dead had never been disturbed. This fact was most satisfactory as disproving the predictions so often made to the contrary. The skeletons were found lying about a foot apart, generally in two layers, one above the other, and in some places there were three. This was a verification of the report of Citizen Richer, hereinbefore mentioned, saying that the dead were buried in a *fosse* (trench), which indicated that they were not interred in separate graves and were of a poor





PLAN OF THE SHAFTS SUNK AND GALLERIES EXCAVATED IN THE SEARCH  
FOR THE BODY OF PAUL JONES

The shafts are indicated by letters in the order in which they were sunk; the galleries excavated are indicated by cross-hatching, the rays from the ends of some of the galleries denote soundings for leaden coffins with iron bars, but the soundings are not all indicated, since they were made from the ends and sides of all the galleries, all the leaden coffins are indicated by numerals in the order of finding them, the coffin of Paul Jones being No. 3, but during the time occupied in the identification of the body 4 and 5 were discovered. The dimensions of the cemetery walls are approximately 120 by 110 feet.



class. This led to the conclusion that there would be very few leaden coffins found, as they could be afforded only by persons in easy circumstances. But few vestiges were left of the wooden coffins.

Two more large shafts were sunk in the yards, and two in the Rue Grange-aux-Belles, making five in all. Day and night gangs of workmen were employed, and active progress was made. Galleries were pushed in every direction, and "soundings" were made between them with long iron tools adapted to this purpose, so that no leaden coffin could possibly be missed.

The first of the four squares explored was the one on the right of the original entrance to the cemetery. Here the excavators encountered a mass of skeletons in three layers superposed. They were placed irregularly, some lying face down and others on their sides, in one layer piled lengthwise and in the one above crosswise, just as one would pile cord-wood, the bodies being so close together that they could not have been buried in coffins. No explanation of the peculiar condition of things in this portion of the cemetery suggested itself until one day I came across a copy of a drawing by Béricourt representing the corpses of the Swiss Guard killed in defending the Tuileries, being hurriedly thrown into carts to be hauled away for burial. As it is known that most of them were Protestants, it is altogether likely that they were interred in the Saint Louis cemetery in the confused manner indicated by the position of the skeletons found there. This slaughter occurred Au-

gust 10, 1792, twenty-one days after Paul Jones's burial. If the above inference be correct, it furnishes another proof that although the cemetery was closed soon after his death there was plenty of room left for his coffin at the time of his burial, for the reason that so many bodies were interred there afterward.

I had given orders that if not present when a leaden coffin was discovered I should be sent for at once, as I was desirous of superintending personally the search for an inscription plate and any other indications that might aid in the identification.

On February 22 the first leaden coffin was discovered. The round projecting end containing the head had been broken off and the skull was detached from the body. The remains of a water-barrel were found near by. As the cemetery, after being closed, had been used as a market-garden, the barrel had evidently been sunk in this spot to catch the water drained from the courtyard, and in excavating for it the head of the coffin had been knocked off. The outer wooden coffin had nearly disappeared and the inscription plate it bore had fallen on the lid of the leaden coffin. This plate was of copper and had become so brittle that when lifted it broke and a portion of it crumbled to pieces. It was so corroded and incrustated that no portion of the inscription could be read. Handling it with great care, I proceeded with it in person to Messrs. André & Son, the well-known decipherers and restorers of ancient enamels and art objects, who promised to apply

all their skill to the task of reading it and report the next day.

In thinking over all the contingencies which might occur, the rather far-fetched idea suggested itself that there was a bare possibility that, as the news of this discovery had leaked out, some miscreant might take it for granted that the coffin contained the body of Paul Jones and steal it. So a message was sent to the Prefect of Police, who had been exceedingly kind in doing everything in his power to facilitate the work, requesting that two policemen be placed on duty on the premises. Late in the evening I learned that, owing to his absence from his office and an error in getting the communication to him, there would be no guard there that night. I could not help feeling some forebodings, and my state of mind may be imagined upon receiving a brief note early the next morning from an official saying he regretted to inform me that there had unfortunately been a depredation committed in the gallery where the leaden coffin was found. I felt like a person who had delayed a day too long in insuring his property and learned that it had taken fire. Upon arriving in all haste on the premises it was found that the "depredation" had been caused by an enterprising reporter and photographer, who had succeeded in opening the gate, getting into the yard, and entering the gallery. In the darkness they had stumbled and broken their apparatus, and in trying to use one which our men had left in the gallery had broken it also, and

some of the pieces were missing. It is unnecessary to say that a double guard was thereafter kept on duty day and night while the work continued.

By the next day the Messrs. André had cleansed the coffin-plate sufficiently to be able to read distinctly the following portion of the inscription: . . . "M E Anglois, 20 de May 1790 Ans." The French word *Mai* was spelled in old style with a y. No further attention was therefore paid to this coffin, and the search which had not been interrupted continued.

A reporter with a lively imagination could not wait for the deciphering of the plate and meanwhile invented a highly dramatic story and gave it to the press, stating that there was such certainty entertained that this leaden coffin contained the body of Paul Jones that I had summoned the personnel of the embassy and others to the scene, including the Commissary of Police, who attended ornamented with his tricolored scarf; that the coffin was opened with great ceremony and solemnity, and the group, deeply affected, stood reverently, with bowed heads, awaiting the recognition of the body of the illustrious sailor, but that it was evident that a serious error had been made, and that, to the sad disappointment of all present, it had to be acknowledged that the body bore no traces of being that of the admiral. This pure fabrication was copied in America and France, and in some quarters commented upon in a manner to give the impression that the projector

of the exploration was simply guessing as to the identity of the object of the search.

On March 23 a second leaden coffin was discovered, with a plate easily read, bearing the words " Richard Hay, Esq., died in Paris the 29th January 1785."

On March 31 a third leaden coffin was unearthed. This, like the others, was of a shape resembling that of the mummy coffins, a form quite common then, gradually widening from the feet to the shoulders, with a round projection at the upper end, which contained the head. It was much superior in solidity and workmanship to the others. A thorough search was made in the vicinity, but no inscription plate could be found. Two theories suggested themselves to account for its absence. A corpse had been buried immediately on top of the leaden coffin, the middle of the lid of which had been pierced as if by a pick. Surrounding the leaden coffin were some vestiges of a coffin of wood. It may be that the digger of the upper grave, finding that his pick had struck a hard substance, had applied his shovel, and in removing the decayed remains of the wooden coffin found a plate and carried it off as a relic, or, if of silver, for its intrinsic value. Or, as the death of Paul Jones occurred when the violence of the French Revolution was at its height and the streets were filled with idlers and excited crowds, it is likely that no engravers could be found at work to prepare a fitting inscription in the two days intervening between the death and burial. The latter theory seems rather more

plausible. It was decided to open this coffin, but as the odors were so disagreeable in the unventilated gallery the examination was postponed until a connection could be made with another gallery, so as to admit a current of air.

On April 7 the coffin was opened in presence of Colonel Blanchard, M. Weiss, M. Géninet, superintendent of the work, the foreman, several workmen, and myself. The lid was so firmly soldered that it was removed with some difficulty. There was a strong alcoholic odor, but the alcohol in which the body had evidently been preserved had nearly all evaporated, doubtless through the hole made in the lid by the pick and a crack in the edge of the coffin near the foot caused by the pressure of the earth after the wooden coffin had rotted away. However, the earth which covered these holes was hard and black, having evidently become indurated by the action of the escaping alcohol, so that the process of evaporation had doubtless been exceedingly slow. The body was covered with a winding-sheet and firmly packed with hay and straw. A rough measurement indicated the height of Paul Jones. Those engaged upon the work had been furnished some time before with copies of the admiral's Congressional medal showing his bust in profile. Half a dozen candles were placed near the head of the coffin, and the winding-sheet was removed from the head and chest, exposing the face. To our intense surprise, the body was marvelously well preserved, all the flesh



remaining intact, but slightly shrunken and of a grayish brown or tan color. The surface of the body and the linen were moist. The face presented quite a natural appearance, except that the cartilaginous portion of the nose had been bent over toward the right side, pressed down, and completely disfigured by its too close proximity to the lid of the coffin. Upon placing the medal near the face, comparing the other features and recognizing the peculiar characteristics—the broad forehead, high cheek bones, prominently arched eye orbits, and other points of resemblance, we immediately exclaimed, "Paul Jones"; and all those who had gathered about the coffin removed their hats, feeling that there was every probability that they were standing in the presence of the illustrious dead—the object of the long search.

For the purpose of submitting the body to a thorough scientific examination by competent experts for the purpose of complete identification, it was taken quietly at night, on April 8, to the Paris School of Medicine (École de Médecine) and placed in the hands of the well-known professors of anthropology, Dr. Capitan and Dr. Papillault and their associates, who had been highly recommended as the most accomplished scientists and most experienced experts who could be selected for a service of this kind. I, of course, knew these professors by reputation, but I had never met them.

While the professional examinations for identify-

ing the body were taking place, directions were given to let the workmen continue the excavations in order to explore some portions of the cemetery that had not yet been reached. On April 11 a fourth leaden coffin was found with a plate bearing the inscription: "Cygit Georges Maidison, Gentilhomme Anglais et Secretaire de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté britannique auprès de Sa Majesté très Chrétienne---decedé a Paris le 27 Août 1783—agé de 36 ans."

On April 18 the fifth and last leaden coffin was discovered. It was without an inscription plate and of unusual length. Upon opening it there was found the skeleton of a man considerably over six feet in height.

In excavating the cemetery, the exploration had corroborated the facts inferred from the hereinbefore-mentioned report indicating that the main body of the four squares divided by the cross-walks had been reserved for burying the ordinary dead in common trenches, and that personages important enough to be placed in leaden coffins were buried in separate graves near one of the walls. The admiral's coffin was found in one of such spots.

All the coffins except the one containing the remains of the admiral were left undisturbed in the places where they had been discovered, and the shafts and galleries were refilled and the property restored. There had been excavated 80 feet in length of shafts, 800 feet of galleries, and about 600 feet of soundings. The excavated earth had to be carted

to a distance of two miles to find a dumping-ground and afterward hauled back. In refilling the galleries it was necessary in places to use stones and blocks of indurated clay to give proper stability.

There were discovered in all five leaden coffins in the cemetery. Four having been easily identified, reasoning upon the principle of elimination led to the conclusion that the other must be the coffin sought. However, the scientists were identifying the body by more positive means.

When the remains arrived at the School of Medicine, the lid of the coffin, which had been replaced and the edges of which had been sealed with a coating of plaster, was again removed, and the hay and straw surrounding the body were taken out. They were so firmly packed, evidently to prevent injury to the body from shocks caused by the rolling of the ship upon the contemplated transfer by sea, that in removing them pincers had to be used. It was noticed that there had been a hole three quarters of an inch in diameter in the lid of the coffin just over the face, and that it had been closed by a screw and soldered over. It is supposed that the alcohol used to preserve the remains had been poured in through this aperture. This immersion in alcohol was doubtless another reason why no uniform or object of value was placed in the coffin.

In order not to disturb the body or change in any way its position in removing it from the coffin, a vertical cut was made in the lead at each end which

enabled the sides to be pressed apart. The body was then carefully placed upon a large dissecting-table. Its state of preservation was such that it bore its own weight in handling it. The remains looked like the anatomical specimens preserved in jars of alcohol, such as one sees in medical museums. It was learned that a century ago this method of preserving the dead was frequently employed—that the bodies of Necker and his wife, buried at Coppet, in Switzerland, for instance, were so treated, and are still perfectly preserved.

The joints were somewhat flexible. In taking the right hand in mine I found that the knuckle-joints could be easily bent.

There now took place one of the most scientific, painstaking, and conscientious examinations conceivable for the purpose of verifying beyond all doubt the identification of the body submitted for this purpose.

The official and professional responsibility of those engaged in the task, their disinterestedness, and the fact that their established reputations were at stake, gave abundant guarantee that the labor would be faithfully and impartially performed. Twelve American or French persons officially took part in or witnessed the work of identification, and their affirmative verdict, after six days passed in the application of every possible test, was positive and unanimous, and was formally certified to under the official seals of

their respective departments, as will be seen from their reports printed in the appendix.

The following is a list of the principal persons who participated in the verification:

The American Ambassador; Henry Vignaud, First Secretary of the American Embassy, Commander of the Legion of Honor; John K. Gowdy, American Consul-General; Colonel A. Bailly-Blanchard, Second Secretary of the American Embassy, ex-Aide-de-Camp to the Governor of Louisiana, Officer of the Legion of Honor, Officer of Public Instruction.

M. Justin de Selves, Prefect of the Seine, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

M. Louis Lepine, Prefect of Police, ex-Governor-General of Algiers, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

Dr. J. Capitan, Professor in the School of Anthropology, Member of the Committee of Historic and Scientific Works (Ministry of Public Instruction), Member of the Municipal Commission of Old Paris, Member of the Society of Megalithic Monuments, ex-President of the Society of Anthropology of Paris, Officer of Public Instruction, etc.

Dr. G. Papillault, Assistant Director of the Laboratory of Anthropology in the School for Advanced Studies, Professor in the School of Anthropology, etc. A scientist of rare experience in the examination and identification of human bodies.

Dr. George Hervé, Professor in the School of Anthropology.

Dr. A. Javal, Physician to the Ministry of Public Instruction, Laureate of the School of Medicine.

M. J. Pray, Chief Architect of the Prefecture of Police, Officer of Public Instruction.

M. Paul Weiss, Engineer of the Quarries of the Seine, Doctor of Laws.

In addition to the above, the services were secured of Dr. V. Cornil, the eminent microscopist, Professor of Pathologic Anatomy of the Paris Faculty of Medicine.

The above scientists were not employed experts; they cheerfully gave their services gratuitously, purely in the interest of science, and as an act of comity between two friendly nations in solving an important historical problem.

The remains had been wrapped in a winding-sheet of linen, the ends of which had been torn off, probably to make it fit the length of the body. On this was observed a small figure 2 worked in thread. Upon the removal of the sheet there was found upon the body but one garment, a linen shirt of fine workmanship with plaits and ruffles. This bore no initial or mark. The long hair, measuring about thirty inches in length, had been carefully dressed and gathered into a linen cap at the back of the head. On this was found a small initial worked in thread. When the cap was right side up the letter was a "J," with the loop well rounded; when reversed, it formed

a "P." A careful search disclosed no other article in the coffin. On the hands, feet, and legs were found portions of tinfoil, as if they had been wrapped in it.

Two circumstances combined to render the identification of the remains comparatively easy: the remarkable state of preservation of the body and the abundance of accurate information in existence descriptive of the dead.

To furnish the anthropologists with the required data, there was obtained upon personal application permission to make all the desired measurements of the Houdon bust of Paul Jones, a little more than three-quarter size, owned by the Marquis de Biron, a very artistic work representing the admiral in court dress with the hair curled in rolls upon the temples. These rolls were identical with those found on the body.

There was procured through the courtesy of the director of the Trocadéro Museum a copy of the other well-known bust of Paul Jones by Houdon, one of the most accurate works of the famous sculptor, who was also an admirer of his subject. It represents Paul Jones in the uniform of an admiral, and was found more useful for the purpose of making the comparative measurements on account of its being life-size. James Madison, in a letter dated April 28, 1825, says: "His bust by Houdon is an exact likeness, portraying well the characteristic features." Besides this there were submitted a copy of the medal

given by Congress, showing a profile of the face, and a mass of authentic information regarding the admiral's chief characteristics, appearance, size, color of hair, age, etc.

Dr. Papillault, with his delicate instruments, made all the necessary anthropometric measurements of the head, features, length of body, etc., and found them so remarkably exact as to be convinced that the busts were made from the subject before him, and that the length of the body, five feet seven inches, was the same as the height of the admiral. All of the comparative measurements are set forth in detail in his report; the greatest difference between any of them being only two millimeters, about seven hundredths of an inch.

As said before, the cartilaginous portion of the nose had been bent over to the right side, pressed down, and entirely distorted. This disfigurement was clearly due to the fact that when the body was put in the coffin an excess of the hay and straw packing had been placed under the head and across the face, and the mass of hair, about thirty inches in length, had been gathered into the linen cap at the back. This raised the face so high that the nose was pressed upon by the coffin lid. This pressure had been so great that the head itself was found turned a little to the right.

Professor Papillault says on this subject: "The bridge of the nose is rather thin; the root somewhat



narrow. Seen in profile, the nose is of an undulating form on the bust; now this form depends a great deal on the cartilage. The bony part of the nose is quite compatible with it." The professional anthropologists pay little attention to the cartilages, as these are liable to change, and confine their measurements to the solid or bony structures.

Professor Capitan, after the examinations, had a photograph made of the head, but at the angle at which it was taken the disfigured nose is made to look as if it were Roman in shape, the end being bent over and depressed, and in consequence giving the bridge an unnatural prominence.

The expression of the face is not nearly so good as if the photograph had been taken immediately after opening the coffin. The skin had shrunk and the lips had contracted by exposure to the air, and show the edges of the teeth, which were not visible at first. This gives the face a rather ghastly appearance.

The hair, which was found neatly dressed, is in disorder and could not be rearranged, as an attempt to comb it revealed a danger of pulling it out. The nose presented the only positive disfigurement. When the bust was placed beside the body, the resemblance of the other features was remarkably striking.

Professor Hervé called attention to a peculiar shape of the lobe of the ear, which he said

was, according to his experience, something very rarely seen. Its exact copy was observed upon the bust.

Dr. Papillault, in his report setting forth the details of his investigations, remarks:

The dimensions of the bust, life-size, by Houdon are exactly those of the body; the comparison is therefore easier than if the bust had been of a reduced size. Thus all the measurements offer an approximation truly extraordinary. Two experienced anthropologists measuring the same subject would often make as great differences. Thus I could not hope to find between a bust and its model a similar identity. I recollect having measured some years ago a cast of the head of Blanqui and the statue which Dalon made from that same cast. Dalon was a very precise and conscientious artist, using and even abusing, as his colleagues said, the caliper-compass. I found differences greater than in this case.

He concludes his report in the following words:

Without forgetting that doubt is the first quality of all investigators and that the most extreme circumspection should be observed in such matters, I am obliged to conclude that all the observations which I have been able to make plead in favor of the following opinion: The body examined is that of Admiral John Paul Jones.

Then came one of the most interesting features of the verification—the autopsy, doubtless the only one in history ever made upon a body that had been buried for a hundred and thirteen years. In order not to

alter in any way the appearance of the corpse, Dr. Capitan and his assistants laid the body upon its face and made the opening in the back to explore the thorax and the viscera contained therein. A quantity of alcohol ran out. It had not evaporated, evidently by reason of its having been incased in the internal organs, which were thoroughly saturated with it and protected by the thorax. This accounted for their excellent state of preservation. The left lung showed a spot which was clearly the result of an attack of pneumonia or broncho-pneumonia. It had healed, but remained surrounded by fibrous tissue. Augustus C. Buell in his "Paul Jones," Volume II, page 235, says: "During this inspection [of the Russian fleet], which consumed about fifteen days, the admiral contracted a heavy cold, which almost the very day of his return to St. Petersburg developed into pneumonia. . . . Both the eminent physicians who attended him pronounced his lungs permanently affected and told him he could never hope to endure again the rigors of a Russian winter." This was in June, 1789. In May, 1790, two years before the admiral's death, he returned to Paris. The same author says of him, Volume II, page 267, "the doctors declared that his left lung was more or less permanently affected."

Dr. Capitan and Professor Cornil found nothing particularly characteristic in the heart, which was still quite flexible. It was contracted, and the cardiac walls exhibited muscular fibers striated lengthwise

and crosswise. An abundance of small crystals and bacteria were noticed. The liver was of a yellowish-brown color, somewhat contracted, and its tissues were rather dense and compact. There were found in the hepatic cells numerous varieties of crystals and microbes. The masses of tyrosin, appearing to the naked eye like white opaque granules, were less numerous than in the lungs. The cells of this organ were badly preserved, and according to Dr. Capitan, a positive opinion could not be given as to symptoms caused by its condition. The gall-bladder was healthy and contained a pale yellowish-brown bile of a pasty consistency. The stomach was contracted and very small. The spleen appeared comparatively larger than it ought to have been, considering the marked contraction of all the viscera. Its tissues appeared rather firm; it showed no anatomic lesions. The kidneys were well preserved in form and presented very clearly under the microscope the evidences of interstitial nephritis. Dr. Capitan, in speaking of these organs, in his report, says:

The vessels at several points had their walls thickened and invaded by sclerosis. A number of glomerules were completely transformed into fibrous tissue and appeared in the form of small spheres, strongly colored by the microscopic reactions. This verification was of the highest importance. It gave the key to the various pathological symptoms presented by Paul Jones at the close of his life—emaciation, consumptive condition, and especially so much swelling, which from the feet gained completely

the nether limbs, then the abdomen, where it even produced ascites (*exsudat intra abdominal*). All these affections are often observed at the close of chronic interstitial nephritis. It can therefore be said that we possess microscopic proof that Paul Jones died of a chronic renal affection, of which he had shown symptoms toward the close of his life. In a word, like my colleague, Papillault, and by different means, relying solely upon the appearance of the subject, on the comparison of his head with the Houdon bust, and besides considering that the observations made upon his viscera agree absolutely with his clinical history, I reach this very clear and well-grounded conclusion, namely, that the corpse of which we have made a study is that of Paul Jones.

I will even add, always with Papillault, that being given this convergence of exceedingly numerous, very diversified, and always agreeing facts, it would be necessary to have a concurrence of circumstances absolutely exceptional and improbable in order that the corpse here concerned be not that of Paul Jones.

Professor Cornil concludes the report of his microscopic examinations as follows: "We believe that the case in point is interstitial nephritis with fibrous degeneracy of the glomerules of Malpighi, which quite agrees with the symptoms observed during life."

To show how perfectly the revelations of the autopsy agree with the symptoms of the malady which terminated the life of Paul Jones, in addition to the affection of the left lung described by his historians and hereinbefore mentioned, I give the following citations from authentic documents: Buell in his "Paul Jones," Volume II, page 308, after mention-

ing that a week before his death it was proposed that he should be called to the bar of the French National Assembly to answer such questions as might be asked of him concerning the needs of the navy and to give his own ideas as to how those needs might best be met, says: "He asked to be excused on the ground that his articulation was not strong and he feared that an effort to make himself heard throughout the vast chamber would so strain his vocal organs as to bring on a fit of convulsive coughing." That night Paul Jones attended a supper at the Café Timon. Capelle, a French writer, describes the affair and gives the admiral's speech, in which he said in conclusion: "My friends, I would love to pursue this theme, but, as you see, my voice is failing and my lower limbs become swollen when I stand up too long."

Benoit-André, who published a memoir of Paul Jones six years after his death, says: "The day after the admiral had been at supper at the Café Timon he did not rise until nearly noon. His lower limbs began to swell prodigiously, his stomach soon began to expand, and he had much difficulty at times in breathing; all the time afflicted with an exhausting cough and much raising of mucus."

Colonel Blackden's letter to Mrs. Janet Taylor, regarding the disease and death, has already been quoted.

The official certificate of burial says he died of dropsy of the chest ("hydropisie de poitrine").

The complete verification of all these symptoms by means of an autopsy made upon a corpse a hundred and thirteen years after death must be regarded as a notable triumph of anthropologic science, of deep interest to the medical profession, and a service of signal importance in the present instance.

No mark of a wound was discovered on the body. Paul Jones was never wounded. History is in abundant possession of the most detailed records of every fight in which he was engaged, and there is nowhere a single mention of his ever having received a wound. Sherburne, in his well-known "Life and Character of Paul Jones," page 362, says: "Commodore John Paul Jones on the ocean during the American Revolution was as General Washington on the land never known to be defeated in battle, and neither ever receiving a wound." Sands, in his "Life and Correspondence of Paul Jones," says that he was assured that the admiral was once wounded in the head, but admits further on that "he never chronicled his wounds in any letter or journal." It has been asserted that there is in existence a draft of a letter written by the admiral four months before his death, in 1792, to the French Minister of Marine, complaining of M. de Sartine, his predecessor in that office, for not having asked him (Jones) if his health had not suffered from his wounds and fatigues; but as "drafts" of letters supposed to have been written in accordance therewith are not convincing, and as M. de Sartine had left the Ministry of Marine Decem-

ber 1, 1780, more than eleven years before, the statement does not carry weight.

The detailed technical reports of the scientists were filed with my communication to the government, and publicity has already been given to them by the authors. Their production here *in extenso* would be beyond the scope of this article, so that I have confined myself to making the above summary of them, giving the methods employed and the conclusions reached. After the autopsy the internal organs were replaced in the thorax.

Appended to this article are copies of the formal documents under seal containing the certifications of the official witnesses to the identification of the remains. I said to them all that if there existed a single doubt in the mind of any one as to the absolute and unquestioned identity of the body submitted for examination, I begged that he would frankly make it known. Not a doubt was expressed, and their decision was unanimous.

It was now seen that some deterioration of the body was taking place from exposure to the air. I therefore gave instructions to the experienced specialists in the School of Medicine to take every precaution to preserve the flesh intact, and made arrangements to replace the remains in the original coffin, and incase them in a casket which could be hermetically sealed and prepared for transportation to America.

A leaden casket was procured, in the bottom of which was placed a bed of sawdust treated with



phenol. On this was laid the lid of the original coffin, next to it the original coffin, in the bottom of which the winding-sheet had been placed. On the top of the winding-sheet was spread a sheet of impermeable oiled silk and then a layer of cotton batting impregnated with phenic glycerin. The body was treated with a coating of the same substance, and the face was sprayed with the essence of thymol. The hair was gathered into the small linen cap in which it had been found. The body, upon which the shirt had been replaced, was then put into the original coffin and laid upon the cotton batting above mentioned, after which another layer of this material, saturated with phenic glycerin, was spread over the body and covered with a second sheet of oiled silk. The whole was then covered and packed with medicated cotton batting. There were also placed in the original coffin a glass jar containing specimens of the hay and straw which had been used in packing, and a package of fragments of the indurated earth which had closed the hole and the crack in the original coffin. The lid, in which is a large glass plate, of the casket was then soldered on and seals of the American embassy affixed. The casket was afterward placed in an outer coffin of oak provided with eight silver handles, the lid of which was secured by sixteen silver screws.

On April 20 this coffin was taken to the American Church of the Holy Trinity, Avenue de l'Alma, accompanied by the American Ambassador, M. Vignaud,

First Secretary of the Embassy, Colonel Blanchard, Second Secretary, Mr. Gowdy, Consul-General, and M. Weiss, engineer in charge of the excavations.

The coffin, covered with the American flag, was placed in the receiving-vault, the rector of the church, the Rev. Dr. Morgan, offered a prayer, and the remains were left there to await the completion of arrangements for their transfer to the United States.

For several years a search had been pressed to find the house in which the admiral died, No. 42 Rue de Tournon. There had been renumberings of the dwellings throughout the arrondissement, and it seemed impossible to trace them with sufficient accuracy to locate the house in which Paul Jones, as history states, occupied an "apartment on the first floor above the entresol." This furnished another instance of the mystery which pursued his memory. It was not until the first week in July, 1905, that the place was found, thanks to the untiring and important assistance rendered by M. Taxil, chief surveyor of the city of Paris. The house is now No. 19 of that street. It is the only one in the immediate locality which has a first floor over an entresol.

The style of the ironwork on the balcony indicates an architecture of the period of the close of the reign of Louis XV or the beginning of that of Louis XVI. The street leads toward the entrance to the Senate, palace of the Luxembourg. It was once a fashionable street, and at the present time several persons of distinction live there. On the ground floor

of the house a sign bears the words "Lessons in fencing, boxing, and the use of the single stick." This proffered instruction in the several arts of fighting in the house in which Paul Jones resided, coupled with the fact that the underground station close to the cemetery where his body reposed is called "Combat," looks as if fate had determined that he should be everywhere identified with signs of conflict and struggle, whether in life or in death.

I visited this house for the first time, accompanied by Colonel Blanchard, July 4, 1905. Colonel A. Bailly-Blanchard was my second secretary at the embassy, and it gives me peculiar pleasure to make conspicuous mention of his services. I assigned him to duty as my principal assistant, and he was constantly associated with me throughout the entire period of the researches. His rare accomplishments eminently fitted him for the service, and the ability and zeal displayed by him entitle him to the most grateful consideration.

Upon the receipt and examination of my detailed reports, the government recognized the completeness of the identification of the admiral's body, and President Roosevelt ordered a squadron, composed of the *Brooklyn*, *Tacoma*, *Chattanooga*, and *Galveston*, commanded by Admiral Sigsbee, to proceed to Cherbourg and convey the remains of Paul Jones to the Naval Academy in Annapolis, where they are to receive permanent interment in the crypt of the new chapel now under construction.

In the meantime I had consulted with the President of France, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, President of the Council, General of the Army, Admiral of the Navy, and others, as to what part the French desired to take in the ceremonies attending the transfer of the remains. They all manifested an enthusiastic wish to pay every possible honor on that occasion to the memory of our illustrious sailor, and a program was accordingly arranged which would best carry out this desire. Admiral Fournier, who represented the naval forces, told me that it was after reading the life of Paul Jones that he had resolved to become a sailor. So that it was the inspiration of our great sea-fighter that gave to France an admiral who to-day commands the admiration of naval men of all countries.

Our squadron was heartily welcomed at Cherbourg by a French fleet, the inhabitants of the city vying with the officials to pay every possible attention to our officers and men. In Paris a series of public dinners and receptions were tendered them, and they were fêted in a manner rarely seen even in the brilliant and hospitable capital of France.

Admiral Sigsbee brought five hundred blue-jackets to Paris on July 6, and at 3.30 P.M. the ceremonies attending the transfer of the remains began in the beautiful American Church of the Holy Trinity, Avenue de l'Alma.

In the morning I had had the coffin brought from the vault into the church, placed in front of the chan-

cel, and covered with artistically arranged flowers. The church itself was tastefully dressed with floral decorations. The audience was one of the most distinguished that has ever been drawn together in Paris. The President of the Republic was represented by the chief of his household, who occupied a chair in front of the chancel. On the right of the middle aisle were seated the President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, the leading members of the Cabinet, and the highest officers of the French army and navy. On the left the resident American ambassador, the two special ambassadors designated for the occasion, Admiral Sigsbee with his captains and staff officers, Senator Lodge, and the members of the diplomatic corps. Seated in the remaining pews and standing crowded in the aisles and doorways were distinguished persons from many countries. The elaborate uniforms, the exquisite flowers, the brilliant flags, enhanced the beauty of a scene which it is seldom one's fortune to witness and which will be memorable in history.

After careful consultation, I concluded that it would be appropriate to avoid an ordinary funeral service, with dirges and requiems, as the occasion was not a funeral, but rather a glorification of the dead, so that anthems, patriotic airs, and *marches glorieuses* constituted the music. After a simple but most impressive service had been conducted by the rector I formally delivered the remains to the government of the United States in the following words:

“ This day America claims her illustrious dead.

“ In the performance of a solemn duty I have the honor to deliver to the government of the United States, through its designated representative, the remains of Admiral John Paul Jones, to be borne with appropriate marks of distinction to the country upon whose arms his heroic deeds shed so much lustre. It is believed that their permanent interment in the land to whose independence his matchless victories so essentially contributed will not be lacking in significance by reason of its long delay.

“ It is a matter of extreme gratification to feel that the body of this intrepid commander should be conveyed across the sea by the war-vessels of a navy to whose sailors his name is still an inspiration, and that this high mission should be confided to so gallant an officer of the same noble profession as the distinguished admiral who commands the escorting squadron.

“ An earnest expression of recognition is due to the accomplished savants of France, whose acknowledged skill in anthropologic science confirmed in every particular, with entire accuracy and absolute certainty, the identification of the remains which were so marvelously preserved.

“ We owe a cordial tribute of gratitude to the government of the French Republic for the cheerful proffer of facilities during the search for the body, the sympathy so generously manifested upon its recovery, and the signal honors rendered upon this

occasion to the memory of a hero who once covered two continents with his renown in battling for the cherished principles of political liberty and the rights of man, for which the two sister republics have both so strenuously contended.

“ All that is mortal of this illustrious organizer of victory on the sea lies in yonder coffin beneath the folds of our national standard. When Congress adopted the present form of the American flag, it embodied in the same resolution the appointment of Captain John Paul Jones to command the ship *Ranger*. When he received the news history attributes to him the following remark: ‘ The flag and I are twins; born the same hour from the same womb of destiny. We cannot be parted in life or in death.’ Alas! they were parted during a hundred and thirteen years, but happily they are now reunited.”

Mr. Loomis, First Assistant Secretary of State and Junior Special Ambassador, received the body, making an interesting address in which he recited the most stirring events in the career of Paul Jones, and expressed the extreme gratification of the government at the recovery of the remains. He finished by delivering them to Admiral Sigsbee for transportation to the United States. Admiral Sigsbee, in accepting the high mission with which he had been charged, delivered a brief, appropriate, and eminently sailorlike address, which was warmly received.

Eight American blue-jackets now stepped forward and bore the coffin solemnly from the church. They

had been carefully selected for their manly bearing and their stature, each being over six feet in height. They commanded the admiration of all who saw them, and the Americans present were naturally delighted to hear the whispered comments of the French ladies, "*Quels beaux garçons!*"

The coffin was placed upon a French artillery caisson tastefully adorned with flags.

The elaborate procession was constituted as follows: The famous French cavalry, the Garde Républicaine, five hundred American sailors, the body of John Paul Jones, Admiral Sigsbee and staff, the American ambassadors and Senator Lodge, the personnel of the American embassy, the high officials of the French government and of the diplomatic corps, delegations from the American Navy League and from the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris, members of the Society of the Cincinnati, Sons of the American Revolution, and other patriotic organizations, all on foot. Then came a battalion of French horse-artillery and a battalion of French infantry with their famous bands.

The column moved down the brilliant Avenue of the Champs Élysées and across the Seine by the stately bridge of Alexander III, which leads to the Invalides. When the body of John Paul Jones was seen moving solemnly toward the body of Napoleon, each having died in a distant land to be brought back after many years with every mark of honor to the country he had so eminently served, there was a



sentiment aroused which deeply touched the hearts of all participating in the ceremony.

When the wide Esplanade des Invalides was reached, the coffin was lifted from the caisson and placed upon a catafalque erected beneath a tent of superb construction, the material being a rich royal purple velvet hung with gold fringe, the front ornamented with swords, shields, cuirasses, and other warlike devices. Here the troops filed by the remains and rendered the highest military honors to the illustrious dead. The coffin was then borne to the mortuary car prepared for it in the railway station close by, and a special train bore it to Cherbourg that night with its guard of honor composed of Americans and Frenchmen.

Paris had that day witnessed a pageant entirely unique in its way, and of surpassing beauty and solemnity. The weather was superb, and the streets and houses were appropriately decorated. The vast crowds of spectators gazed upon the cortège with sympathy and respect. No cheers or other inappropriate demonstrations were indulged in. The on-lookers simply uncovered reverently as the coffin passed. Their bearing in every respect was admirable.

The next day, July 7, I went to Cherbourg to sail for home. A cordial invitation had been received from the government and Admiral Sigsbee to take passage on board the flagship. While this was deeply appreciated, it was declined, as I felt that it would

be in better taste to return by the ordinary lines of travel now that the subject of the mission had been formally placed in the hands of the navy and I could render no further useful service.

The fleets of the two nations lay side by side in that picturesque military harbor, discharging their peaceful and sympathetic mission, our phantom-colored vessels presenting an interesting contrast to the black hulls of the French warships. There I took a last look at the coffin which contained all that is mortal of the hero, the search for whose remains had furnished a congenial task for the past six years. Upon sailing out of the harbor, the squadron honored me with a parting ambassadorial salute, and I now felt that my mission in connection with the recovery of the body of our illustrious naval commander was definitely ended.

## APPENDIX

### OFFICIAL CERTIFICATION OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AND CONSULATE OF THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE BODY OF ADMIRAL JOHN PAUL JONES

THIS is to certify that we, the undersigned, met at the School of Medicine (L'École de Médecine) in the City of Paris at ten o'clock A.M. on the fourteenth day of April, 1905, for the purpose of verifying the identification of the remains recently found by the American Ambassador in the old Saint Louis cemetery for the burial of foreign Protestants, and believed to be those of Admiral John Paul Jones.

The body was lying on a table, entirely uncovered, having been taken from the leaden coffin in which it had been found, and from which the linen had been removed and placed on another table.

We had familiarized ourselves with the historical information regarding the age, size, color of hair, general appearance, manner of dress, etc., of John Paul Jones, and there were placed near the body the medal presented to him by Congress to commemorate his battle with the *Scrapis*, showing his head in profile and a copy of the well-known bust made from life by Houdon, which had been loaned for the purpose by the Trocadéro Museum. The remains were those of a man, and were remarkably well preserved by having evidently been immersed in alcohol. The flesh seemed firm, and the joints were somewhat flexible.

There were bits of tinfoil adhering to the hands, feet, and other parts of the body, as if they had been wrapped with it. The body was lying on its back, the hands were crossed over the abdomen, the left hand resting on the right. It was of a grayish brown or, rather, a tan color. The right eyelid was closed, the other was slightly open. The features presented quite a natural appearance except that the cartilaginous portion of the nose was bent over to the right and pressed down as if by the too close proximity of the lid of the coffin or by the excess of the hay and straw in packing the body. Several fine oblique lines were traceable upon the face, made by the folds of the winding-sheet, which had left upon the skin an imprint of the texture of the fabric. The lips were a very little shrunken or contracted, exposing the extreme ends of the teeth. This slight contraction did not exist when the coffin was opened, and seemed to have been caused by exposure to the air.

Dr. Papillault, Professor of Anthropology in the School of Anthropology, one of the scientists who had been highly recommended and selected to aid in the work of identifying the body on account of his valuable experience in such examinations, explained to us the methods he had adopted, and showed us the elaborate comparative measurements he had made of all the important features of the body and of the Houdon bust. The agreement was singularly exact in every important particular, as will be shown in his report, which he read in our presence, explaining the details as he proceeded. The principal results were as follows. The word "identical" will be used to signify that the agreement between the corresponding dimensions of the body and of the Houdon bust is exact, and that the appearance conforms strictly to the authentic historical description of the admiral.

Length of body, five feet seven and three-eighths inches. Height of Paul Jones was five feet seven inches; the three-eighths is the difference allowed by anthropologists between a person standing and the same person lying down. "Was five feet seven inches tall, slender in build, of exquisitely symmetrical form, with noticeably perfect development of limbs" ("Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XVI"). Identical.

Principal features of face and head. Identical.

No beard. Identical. Face presented appearance of one who had not shaved for several days.

Hair very dark brown—generally speaking, might be called black. The front hair upon opening the coffin was found to be of an unnatural tan color, like the flesh, evidently discolored by the presence of the alcohol and straw. After taking some hair from the back of the head, where it had been protected by being gathered into a linen bag, and washing it, its color was dark brown or black. "He was of the complexion usually united with dark hair and eyes, which were his" ("Memoirs of Paul Jones," Edinburgh edition). "His hair and eyebrows are black" ("Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XVI"). See specimen of hair accompanying this report. Identical.

The hair in a few places was slightly tinged with gray. This fact, together with the condition of the teeth, indicates a person of between forty and fifty years old. John Paul Jones was forty-five at the time of his death.

Dr. Capitan, Professor of Historic Anthropology in the School of Anthropology, Vice-President of the Commission on Megalithic Monuments, member of the Committee on Historical and Scientific Works and of the Society of Old Paris, etc., then explained the course pursued by him in the identification and the

autopsy effected by opening the back and removing and examining the internal organs so singularly preserved, and gave convincing evidence that the deceased had died of the disease which terminated the life of John Paul Jones. (See Dr. Capitan's report.) In 1790 "the doctors declared that his left lung was more or less permanently affected" (Buell's "History of Paul Jones"). "He died of dropsy of the chest" (official certificate of burial). "For two months past he began to lose his appetite, grew yellow, and showed symptoms of jaundice." "A few days before his death his legs began to swell, which proceeded upward to his body, so that for two days before his decease he could not button his waistcoat and had great difficulty in breathing" (Letter of Colonel Blackden).

The linen taken from the coffin, all in exceedingly good condition except stained in places a tan color, was then minutely examined. It consisted of a shirt of fine linen, handsomely made, with plaits and ruffles corresponding with the historical description of the admiral's fondness for dress. "He is a master of the arts of dress and personal adornment, and it is a common remark that notwithstanding the frugality of his means he never fails to be the best dressed man at any dinner or fête he may honor by attending" ("Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XVI"). "To his dress he was, or at least latterly became, so attentive as to have it remarked" ("Memoirs of Paul Jones," Edinburgh edition). Identical.

A sheet on which was worked with thread the figure 2. A linen bag or cap neatly made, which had been found at the back of the head and into which the hair had been gathered. Upon this was a small initial worked with thread. When the bag was held right side up the letter was a "J" with the loop nearly

closed; when held in the reverse position it was a "P." If a "J" it would be the initial of Jones, the name which he added to his family name. If a "P" it would be the initial of his original family name, Paul. It may be remarked that then, as now, the French often marked their linen with the initial of their Christian name. In Paris, the admiral was sometimes familiarly addressed as "Mon Paul" and "Monsieur Paul." He often signed his name Paul Jones and sometimes J. Paul Jones, as shown by his correspondence.

There were no other articles in the coffin except the hay and straw with which the body had been carefully packed, and no inscription plate had been found. Taking into careful consideration the convincing proofs of identification of the body by means of the measurements, the autopsy, etc., the marks upon the linen, the fact that the coffin was found in the cemetery in which it was proved to have been buried, that it was superior in solidity and workmanship to the others, that the body had been carefully preserved and packed as if to prepare it for a long voyage, "that, in case the United States, which he had so essentially served, and with so much honor, should claim his remains they might be more easily removed" (Letter of Colonel Blackden, the admiral's intimate friend, witness of his will and pall-bearer at his funeral, addressed to the eldest sister of Paul Jones, Mrs. Janet Taylor), and the further fact that in exploring the cemetery there was every evidence that the graves of the dead had never been disturbed, that only five leaden coffins were found, four of which were easily identified, three of them having inscription plates giving dates and names of the deceased and the fourth containing a skeleton measuring about six feet two inches in length, we regard the

Weiss declared that they recognized the coffin and the body as being those found in the former cemetery for foreign Protestants and transmitted to the School of Medicine for the purpose of identification.

Dr. Papillault read a detailed Report and concluded that the body was that of John Paul Jones.

By the side of the body were placed the bust of the Admiral by Houdon, a plaster cast, loaned by the Museum of the Trocadéro, of the original bust in the Academy of Fine Arts at Philadelphia, also the medal signed Dupré, which was struck in honor of Paul Jones by order of Congress to commemorate his famous battle with the *Serapis* and the *Scarborough*, which enabled one to verify the perfect resemblance existing between the reproduction of the features of the Admiral and the corpse.

The shirt and winding-sheet in which the body was wrapped were likewise examined. On the cap which contained his hair those present noted the existence of an initial which in one direction is a capital "P" and in a contrary direction a "J," both letters constituting the initials of the Admiral.

After these various examinations Dr. Capitan read his report upon the result of the autopsy which he had made upon the corpse and which revealed the symptoms of the disease of which it is known the Admiral died. Dr. Capitan and Dr. Papillault were both in accord in affirming as a scientific truth the identity of the deceased.

In view of the perfect coincidence of all the facts relating to the burial and of the agreement of all the physical measurements, those present were unanimous in recognizing the body as being that of Admiral John Paul Jones.

Consequently the body was replaced in the leaden coffin in which it was discovered, to be ultimately



inclosed in a new triple coffin of pine, lead, and oak, sealed and transferred to the vault of the American Church in the Avenue de l'Alma.

In witness whereof we have drawn up and signed with all those in attendance the present certificate in triplicate, one of which will be sent through H. Ex. the Minister of Foreign Affairs to H. Ex. the American Ambassador for delivery to the Government of the United States, and the two others filled in the archives of the Prefecture of the Seine and the Prefecture of Police.

Thus done and signed at Paris, the nineteenth day of May, 1905.

(Signed)

J. DE SELVES, LOUIS LEPINE, HORACE PORTER,  
HENRY VIGNAUD, A. BAILLY-BLANCHARD, JOHN  
K. GOWDY, J. CAPITAN, DR. G. PAPILLAUT,  
GEO. HERVÉ, A. JAVAL, J. PRAY, PAUL WEISS.

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Jones, John Paul.

Letters of John Paul Jones.

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